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ABSTRACT

The book examines approaches for serving behavior problem students in the ordinary British School. The first of four sections provides a theoretical framework against which to consider educational services for behavior problem students. Topics addressed include the emotional climate of the classsroom and the nature and development of behavior problems. Classroom applications--including class management training, behavior modification in the secondary school, and the effects of adolescent behavior on teacher stress--are examined in the five papers of section 2. Seven papers constitute section 3's examination of current practice and include descriptions of counseling programs in secondary schools, a positive rewards system, and social skills training in a pastoral care group. The final section analyzes the potential of current trends, commenting upon issues of leadership in educational change, school-based inservice training, and psychological services. (CL)

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BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS IN THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

Edited by

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EC161199

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INTRODUCTION

This book contains a unique collection of articles about the nature and treatment of behaviour problems in the comprehensive school. The majority of the articles are based on papers presented at a Conference on behaviour problems in the comprehensive school organized by the Welsh Branch of the Association for Child Psychology and Psychiatry and held at Atlantic College on 1st and 2nd June, 1979. Articles not based on papers presented at that Conference were written specifically for this publication.

This book and the Conference on which it was based both reflect what appears to be a growing concern with behaviour problems in comprehensive schools. With the introduction of comprehensive education there was a need to develop ways of coping with a wider range of behaviour and adjustment problems than many secondary teachers had previously experienced. For reasons upon which we will not attempt to speculate here, many schools seem to have been slow to address themselves to this problem, or at least to write about their attempts to deal with this issue. In the present economic climate and with what appears to be a growing disenchantment with education among many young people, schools have been forced to attach greater importance to catering for children with behaviour problems than they have hitherto. Successful strategies for coping with a reluctant school population have come to be seen as vital for the mental health of teaching staff and for the efficient functioning of any school.

While there is a considerable body of literature available about the nature and treatment of behaviour problems the vast majority of this focuses on individual and environmental factors and suggestions for treatment are usually most appropriate in clinical or special educational settings. Furthermore, the bulk of the literature and research currently available comes from professional groups other than teachers. While such people obviously have much to offer to an understanding of behaviour problems in general and to the development of intervention strategies in particular all too frequently the ideas that originate from such sources are seen by teachers as either irrelevant to, or impractical to apply in,the ordinary secondary school.

The articles collected in this volume represent an attempt to provide a set of ideas which are soundly based in theory and research but which meet the criteria of relevance to, and practicality in, the ordinary school situation. All of the people who have contributed to this volume write on the basis of their familiarity with comprehensive schools.

The book is organized in four sections. In the first section an attempt has been made to provide a broad theoretical framework on which a consideration of behaviour problems in the comprehensive school may be based. Peter Mortimer argues forcefully that schools vary widely in the extent and nature of behaviour problems that are exhibited in them and speculates on some of the factors, particularly school factors that may account for such differences. Peter Wilson and Virginia Bottomley, on the other hand, present a more traditional argument when they suggest that a basic source of many behaviour problems in the secondary school may be the nature of adolescence through which the majority of children in such schools are passing. They outline a number of issues which might help teachers to be better able to understand such issues. Graham Upton then outlines what he sees as changes which have recently occurred in the conceptualization of behaviour problems and which can be seen to suggest that the bulk of such problems should be seen as the responsibility of the ordinary school rather than of any outside agency.

In section two a variety of ideas is presented to provide a range of theoretical frameworks on which practical intervention could be based. David Hargreaves and Ted Wragg both focus on classroom skills and attempt to make more explicit the skills of the 'good teacher'. In the writings of both these authors is the assumption that making such skills explicit and communicating them to others may go a long way to reducing the number of behaviour problems in schools. John Presland outlines the principles of behaviour modification and speculates why such skills, which have been shown most effective in modifying behaviour in clinical and other educational settings, have found such infertile ground in comprehensive schools. This theme is taken up again in Alexander Gobell's article who puts behaviour modification in the context of three theoretical models which he feels have practical relevance in the ordinary school . Anne Jones approaches the issue from the teacher's viewpoint and argues forcefully that the teacher's role has become blurred and very far reaching with the result that teachers are under greater stress than ever before and possibly less able to cope with behaviour problems. She argues for a clearer delineation of the teacher's role as one means of eliminating some of the issues experienced as problems in comprehensive schools.

Section three contains reports of a variety of attempts to cater effectively for children with behaviour problems in comprehensive schools. Bryan Rendell describes a highly structured system for catering for less able children which like the method of integrating remedial pupils described by Anthony Capron has resulted in a marked improvement in the behaviour of the children involved. Charles Milburn describes what appears to be a unique application of behaviour modification principles in a comprehensive school in Britain and offers many practical ideas on how to implement such an approach. Elizabeth Jones describes the counselling approach she adopts and talks of the way in which such a system may function as an effective component of a school's pastoral care system. Eileen Callely and Valerie Rees describe what has come to be seen in its own area as a model for an in-school adjustment unit. Fully integrated into school life the unit has functioned most effectively for some four years. David Brockington and

and Roger White describe what must be seen as the antithesis of all that Eileen Callely and Valerie Rees hold dear when they outline the nature of their non-school based unit. This is an exciting and innovative project which will undoubtedly stimulate much discussion amongst comprehensive school staff. Arthur Wooster and E.G.E. Bird similarly present a different set of ideas for pastoral care work than those to which many teachers may work. These ideas are based on what Alex Gobell describes as the 'humanistic model' of human behaviour and offer much to any teacher who truly wants to get 'in touch' with his or her pupils.

Section four looks more towards the future than the past in that each contributor in this section describes a present trend but looks forward to its potential value rather than simply describing its features. Bill Gillham opens this section with an exciting perspective on the changing role of the educational psychologist wherein he suggests a greater partnership in future between educational psychologists and teachers in dealing with behaviour problems. Ronald Davie focuses on the need for inservice training and describes a unique course in Britain which has been designed to provide such training for people in senior management posts in comprehensive schools but with a specific focus on behaviour and learning problems. The need which such a course brings with it for the study of schools and subsequently for institutional change is discussed and some useful guidelines for such a focus are provided. Jill Lewis takes up this theme again in the final chapter but broadens it to look at the need for leadership training in school and speculates on the extent to which effective leadership may be the key determinant of the success of any school in dealing with behaviour problems.

It is hoped that teachers as well as researchers and lecturers in education departments will find in this collection of articles much that will stimulate and challenge them. It is not claimed that any of these articles contains the key to all behaviour problems. Rather these are tentative attempts to look at the area and to share experiences. To expect definite answers is not only premature but also reflects a misunderstanding of the nature of the issues involved. For behaviour problems as well as schools are individual. No one solution will provide the answer for all children or all schools. It is, however, the editors' belief that by sharing ideas teachers can become aware of alternatives and can broaden their understanding of behaviour problems and of possible intervention strategies. It is hoped that this publication will stimulate others to write. All too frequently teachers have been on the receiving end of advice from others - now, perhaps, is the time to change all that.

SECTION I

SOME BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

MISBEHAVIOUR IN SCHOOLS

Peter Mortimore

INTRODUCTION

When a pupil misbehaves in school is it possible, or indeed sensible, to attempt to assign blame? Before this question can be answered it is, perhaps, necessary to look beyond the classroom at the role of the school. I begin this chapter by describing some of the difficulties of definition that are inherent in any consideration of this topic. Although there are no immediate solutions to the difficulties, I wish to argue that attempts to measure misbehaviour, imperfect though they are, are preferable to opinion and anecdote. One attempt at measurement in a comparative study of twelve schools is described. Consideration of the findings of this study, that schools have different levels of misbehaviour, leads on to a discussion of the influence of schools. I shall not attempt to deal with the classroom management of individual pupils, nor engage in the debate over special support units for 'pupils with behavioural difficulties', both of which are important topics in their own right.

In writing about misbehaviour, various problems of definition need to be recognised. The first of these is that the term itself is so general, describing as it may, all kinds of actions from the trivial to the serious. Thus, failure to have a pencil in class or regularly absconding from school are both seen as misbehaviour. Of course, it must be remembered that even as trivial an act as not having a pencil in class may represent a calculated act of defiance designed to enrage a teacher.

The second problem is that the term is applied to the behaviour of all kinds of pupils, including the relatively small number with manifest psychiatric illness or developmental difficulties that are sometimes termed 'maladjusted', or those few pupils with organic brain disorders. It is often only through their school misbehaviour that such pupils may be identified and helped. In our society, it is after all seen as fairly normal for pupils to display some misbehaviour and indeed the one who is always perfectly behaved is often seen as abnormal.

The third problem is that there is no clear distinction between the acts that make up the misbehaviour of these maladjusted pupils and the acts of other young people. The definition of any act as misbehaviour depends, after all, on the perceptions of the participants, though is some cases, the frequency or the intensity of the act is so marked that a distinction between normal and deviant behaviour is possible, but this is often rare. Even when there is an acceptance by all concerned (including a psychiatrist or educational psychologist) that a pupil is maladjusted, much of his or her misbehaviour will fall within normal limits. If such a pupil is removed from the classroom, the effect on the level of class behaviour is sometimes not dramatic as other, perfectly normal,

pupils may step in and assume the role that has previously been held by the departing pupil.

This last point leads to a fourth problem in that misbehaviour can, in some cases, be a healthy reaction to an intolerable situation. The 'cry for help' may signal that a pupil, in his home or school life, is under severe stress (Winnicot, 1972).

ATTEMPTS TO QUANTIFY MISBEHAVIOUR

Despite these difficulties of definition, school inspectors, teachers and psychologists must discuss misbehaviour. A recent survey by Her Majesty's Inspectorate into truancy and behavioural problems, reported that violent behaviour was limited to a small proportion of pupils. However, all schools in the sample reported some fighting, bullying and loud and aggressive behaviour, in addition to smoking, graffiti, truancy and lateness (HMI, 1978).

Teachers in a survey, carried out for one of the professional associations, whilst emphatically denying sensational claims that schools were turning into 'blackboard jungles', were concerned at the low level of pupil co-operation and behaviour. In particular, they were worried about what they saw as a decline of standards in inner-city secondary schools (N.U.T., 1974). The question of whether pupils' behaviour has deteriorated in recent years is very difficult to answer because of changes in society, the effects of earlier maturation combined with the raising of the school leaving age, and the lack of objective measures.

Misbehaviour in school is not confined to England. Accounts such as Werthman's (1971), stress the level of violence in schools and the considerable provocation faced by teachers in the United States and a recent survey in Scandinavia estimated that 5% of boys in school were regularly bullied by their fellow pupils (Olweus, 1978).

In England schools often develop public reputations for having well or poorly behaved pupils. Such a reputation may contribute to the popularity of the school yet the foundation of these reputations may be no more than the observations, by local residents, of a few pupils at the bus stop. In any objective study of schools it is clearly necessary to examine the behaviour of pupils in a much more systematic way and to attempt to overcome the problems of definition that have been discussed. Yet despite the necessity for such a scale few researchers have attempted to create one. The problems of the definition, of misbehaviour, and the difficulty of ascribing any common meaning to acts committed within contexts of particular schools, have prevented the development of such a tool. Unable to measure the level of misbehaviour, within a school, researchers have fallen back on the use of measures of individual pupils. These behaviour scales (Rutter et al., 1970; Sharp and Green, 1975) are useful for screening large numbers of pupils as a preliminary to identifying individuals who need help, but as indicators of school misbehaviour, they have several drawbacks. In the first instance they rely completely on the judgement of teachers, who are themselves participants in the situation. Secondly, they presuppose a common standard of judgement amongst

	Criterion	Measure	Source
1	Missing lessons	Mean score of missed lessons	Self report, pupil questionnaire
2	Absconding	" " " absconded sessions	" " " "
3	Truanting	" " " truanted incidents	" " " "
4	Uniform	% of pupils not wearing uniform	" " " "
5	Uniform	" " " " " "	Observations
6	Damage	Amount of damage	"
7	Graffiti	" " graffiti on walls	"
8	Graffiti	Mean score of graffiti writing	Self report, pupil questionnaire
9	Pupil violence	Number of fights in school during selected weeks	Observations
10	Fights	Number of fights in playground during selected weeks	"
11	Late	Average number of children late for lessons	"
12	Pencils	% pupils without pencil or pen	"
13	Anoraks	% pupils wearing anoraks or overcoats in class	"
14,15	On task	% of observations in which selected pupils were rated as being on task	"
16,17	Off task	% of observations in which selected pupils were rated as being off task	"
18,19	Chat	Average amount of pupil chatting	"
20,22	Class informal (mild)	Average amount of mild disruptive behaviour of classes (3rd & 5th year classes)	"
21	Individual informal (mild)	Average amount of mild disruptive behaviour of individual pupils	"
23,24	Class calling out score	Average amount of calling out (3rd & 5th year classes)	"
25	Informal severe score	Average amount of serious disruptive behaviour in class	"

Table 1. School Behaviour Scale

teachers. Thirdly, they provide general information about the pupil rather than about any particular act of misbehaviour committed by him.

When, as part of our study of twelve London schools, we needed to compare the behaviour of pupils from different schools we developed a scale of school behaviour. This scale consisted of twenty five criteria dealing with different types of truanting, vandalism, fighting, and both mild and more serious disruption of lessons. (See Table 1 - full details may be found in Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore and Ouston, 1979).

These items were selected from a pool of measures of pupil actions which had been collected after much discussion with teachers and pupils during several years work in the schools. As we were attempting to study the behaviour of the pupils in order to see if there were school differences, we needed a scale that was as objective as possible. Because of the problems of definition already noted, we gave each criteria an equal weighting and attempted to sample the behaviour of a large number of pupils.

A few criteria are repeated though, with one exception, they contain information about different pupils. The exception concerns two measures dealing with the wearing of uniform, where both apply to the same group of pupils. One score reflects the uniform observed on a particular day by the researchers, and the other is the self reported wearing of uniform during the previous week. Table 2 reveals that the association between these two measures is a correlation of 0.59, indicating as might be expected, a reasonable relationship.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1. Making noise	—	0.59	0.64	0.19	0.33	0.34	0.74	0.53	0.69	0.77	0.53	0.18	0.32	0.44	0.41	0.33	0.74	0.41	0.41	0.64	0.49	0.80	0.64	0.38	0.66
2. Absconding		—	0.30	0.21	0.62	0.42	0.62	0.46	0.68	0.59	0.47	0.34	0.41	0.35	0.36	0.42	0.70	0.32	0.40	0.54	0.35	0.74	0.59	0.70	0.53
3. Truanting			—	0.10	0.21	0.09	0.34	0.76	0.37	0.38	0.39	0.34	0.38	0.23	0.84	0.23	0.68	0.42	0.41	0.71	0.36	0.72	0.68	0.41	0.56
4. Vandalism				—	0.59	0.77	0.41	0.41	0.24	0.26	0.36	-0.08	0.33	0.72	0.31	0.31	0.41	0.58	0.12	0.50	0.33	0.44	0.32	0.15	0.52
5. Cruelty					—	0.62	0.74	0.64	0.60	0.26	0.39	0.42	0.41	0.44	0.49	0.39	0.72	0.37	0.31	0.52	0.30	0.74	0.64	0.64	0.64
6. Damage						—	0.64	0.23	0.31	0.32	0.53	0.01	0.46	0.42	0.36	0.33	0.31	0.38	0.72	0.54	0.36	0.61	0.37	0.51	0.22
7. Stealing							—	0.47	0.60	0.43	0.85	0.37	0.42	0.33	0.49	0.43	0.36	0.60	0.32	0.56	0.75	0.70	0.67	0.73	0.33
8. Stealing								—	0.30	0.19	0.26	0.12	0.32	0.37	0.71	0.26	0.11	0.61	0.31	0.23	0.47	0.38	0.74	0.38	0.26
9. Pupil violence									—	0.66	0.41	0.31	0.32	0.32	0.31	0.42	0.44	0.44	0.41	0.43	0.21	0.55	0.45	0.52	0.46
10. Fights										—	0.31	0.74	0.29	0.47	0.32	0.47	0.38	0.66	0.36	0.34	0.42	0.53	0.32	0.29	0.36
11. Late											—	0.61	0.83	0.34	0.48	0.40	0.31	0.48	0.28	0.72	0.70	0.49	0.77	0.45	0.83
12. Pencils												—	0.34	0.11	0.10	0.02	0.27	0.09	-0.03	0.41	0.14	0.19	0.36	0.30	0.45
13. Absent													—	0.60	0.32	0.31	0.70	0.47	0.36	0.70	0.67	0.64	0.83	0.37	0.36
14. Off task														—	0.41	0.71	0.39	0.70	0.33	0.49	0.50	0.70	0.30	0.39	0.52
15. Off task															—	0.41	0.41	0.30	0.36	0.73	0.68	0.90	0.78	0.43	0.68
16. Off task																—	0.31	0.42	0.31	0.51	0.50	0.59	0.38	0.61	0.38
17. Off task																	—	0.30	0.60	0.60	0.72	0.76	0.76	0.45	0.81
18. Off task																		—	0.15	0.73	0.68	0.33	0.44	0.07	0.70
19. Chat																			—	0.31	0.35	0.36	0.44	0.39	0.33
20. Chat																				—	0.94	0.84	0.84	0.31	0.92
21. Informal mvt																					—	0.64	0.80	0.26	0.90
22. Informal mvt																						—	0.72	0.33	0.67
23. Call																							—	0.36	0.55
24. Call																								—	0.29
25. Informal mvt																									—

(Most of the items relate to misbehaviour, and have been ranked from least (1) to most (12). For items which refer to good behaviour (e.g. On task (1)) this correlation has been reversed, with high levels of On task behaviour ranked 1, and low 13.)

Table 2. Intercorrelations of pupil response items

Although there are some low intercorrelations, notably between the criterion dealing with pencils and the other items on the scale, the general pattern is of high associations. These items form a coherent scale as shown by the Kendall coefficient of concordance test, which revealed a 'w' score of 0.53 (x^2 = 146.2; 11 df; $p < 0.001$).

We could not include some behaviours, such as bullying, which we felt could not be suitably handled by questionnaire methods. Likewise some of the observed measures had to be left out because of the difficulty of obtaining reliable scores between observers.

In order to obtain an overall score on this scale, we ranked the performance of the sample schools on all of the items and calculated an average score for each school. The mean rank scores ranged from 1.94 for the school with the most misbehaviour to 10.96 for the school with the least score on this scale. These scores are shown in the form of a histogram in Figure 1.

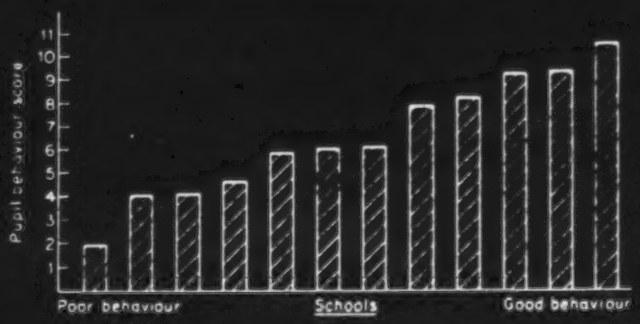

Figure 1. Pupil behaviour score by school

Because this scale of school behaviour was partly based on anonymous questionnaires we could not use the measure in conjunction with the individual longitudinal data collected in the study. It was not possible for instance, to relate the behaviour exhibited to home background, intelligence quotient, or the pupil's record of delinquency. It was also impossible to control directly the differences between the intakes of schools as was done with other measures. But we were able to examine whether the schools with the low behaviour scores were the same as those which had received a high proportion of pupils with a record of behaviour problems at primary school. We found a low correlation (0.27) between these two measures, showing that there was only a weak relationship between behaviour at primary and secondary schools.

What this means is that schools had particular styles of behaviour.

In those where there was more absconding, there was also more writing of graffiti, more pupil violence and more disruptive behaviour in lessons. Conversely in others, there was less of all these actions. Despite the fact that the criteria represented very different behaviours, a common style emerged; pupils were more like fellow pupils in their own school than others at different schools.

It is clear then, that whether or not there has been a deterioration of standards in inner city schools, as suggested by the NUT survey, these twelve schools showed considerable variation in their scores and this was not directly related to the primary school behaviour of the pupils. Why then do these differences exist?

RELATIONSHIP OF SCHOOL BEHAVIOUR TO SCHOOL REGIME

The regime of any school is also difficult to assess. There have been various measures of 'school climate' (Finlayson, 1973) developed but none of these was completely suitable for our study. Instead we developed another scale of 39 items which we called the 'combined process' scale. The items used in this scale were concerned with the academic aims of the school, the strategies of the classroom teacher, the school's implementation of rewards and punishments, pupil conditions, and the opportunity for pupil participation in school life. (Full details of the correlation between the behaviour scale and in the individual process items may be found in Rutter et al. (1979) Chapter 7.)

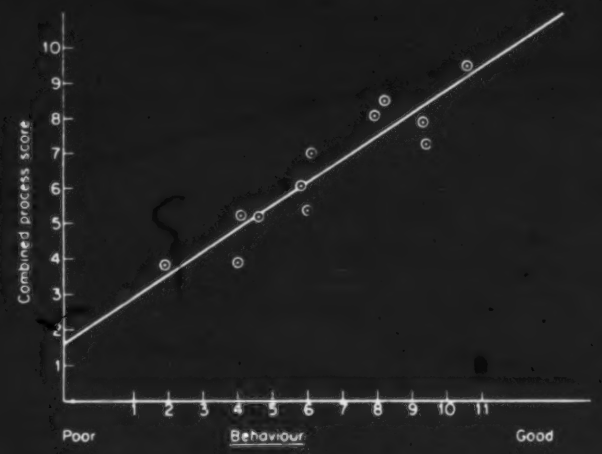

Figure 2. Combined process score and behaviour score

The figure shows the position of schools on the scale used to indicate the regime, plotted against the position of schools on the pupil behaviour scale. The schools follow very closely the regression line based on the correlation of the two sets of scores, which was 0.92, indicating the strong relationship between these two scales. An answer must now be found to the question of how the regime of the schools affected the behaviour of the pupils.

First, a common staff policy on pupil behaviour was effective. This common policy produced actions by teachers which were consistent and so made sense to pupils.

Second, the attitude of teachers towards the academic aims of a school seems to be important to the behaviour of the pupils. This may sound paradoxical but perhaps reflects the fact that other pupils are realistic about their choices in public examinations. If they feel they will have a chance of doing well, then they are less likely to misbehave. The attitude of teachers towards academic aims is sensed by pupils through the setting and marking of homework, the standard of teaching and the level of expectations that pupils feel the teachers possess.

Third, behaviour was better in schools where teachers were conscientious about starting and ending lessons on time than in those where they were more casual about such details, perhaps because in those schools teachers could be seen as good models for the pupils.

Fourth, the use of effective rewards was strongly related to good behaviour. In schools where praise was given for good behaviour, in and out of class, pupils knew that such behaviour was appreciated and there was less misbehaviour. Surprisingly, punishments were not related to behaviour except for extreme levels of corporal punishment, (both official and unofficial) which was associated with misbehaviour. The punishment policy, perhaps, reflected the history and traditions of school rather than the actions of the pupils.

Finally, there was less misbehaviour where conditions were pleasant and where pupils were encouraged to take an active part in the life of the school. One way of achieving this is by ensuring that a large proportion of pupils have the experience of holding some sort of responsibility as form officials, or monitors. Another, is be letting all pupils take responsibility for their own equipment and resources rather than encouraging pupils to be over-dependent on teachers. A third way to encourage pupils to participate in the life of the school is by giving them the opportunity of playing a part in the corporate life of the school through participation in assemblies and meetings.

However, one of the limitations of analysis based on correlations is the difficulty of defining the direction of causality. It is not possible to say with absolute certainty that a high score on this scale of the school's regime caused the good behaviour of the pupils. It is possible, in theory, that the reverse is true and that the good behaviour led to the pleasant regime. Further it is also possible that both regime and behaviour could have been caused by another factor of which we failed to take account. In Fifteen Thousand Hours (Rutter et al., 1979) we argue that, whilst only a truly experimental study could conclusively demonstrate causality, because the behaviour of pupils in their primary schools was only poorly related to behaviour in secondary schools, the likelihood is that the regime of the school does play an important part in eliciting good or bad behaviour from the pupils.

SCHOOL-CREATED MISBEHAVIOUR

The role of schools in actually creating misbehaviour has been written about by many authors (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Clegg and Megson, 1968; Sharp and Green, 1975). Of these, Clegg and Megson, as long ago as 1968, criticised the tendency of some schools to reward successful pupils whilst the others "are discarded and of no account". It is hardly surprising that, if this is the case, 'discarded' pupils indulge in misbehaviour. If there is no legitimate way for them to succeed, then other ways will be found. The case studies by Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) which both describe the emergence of counter-school cultures amongst pupils, who are regarded by teachers as least able, lend empirical support to this view.

I have suggested elsewhere that schools should be seen as social institutions with many similarities to other organisations (Mortimore, 1977). Fundamentally, like most institutions they rest on a power relationship; pupils are not free to choose whether they attend school they are there because they have to be! The teachers are in a minority but have a larger share of the power than the pupils. Some conflict between these groups is probably unavoidable and has been described by Reynolds (1975) and Delamont (1976). Part of the teacher's power lies in the fact that it is the pupils who have more at stake than the teachers. In a competitive society, where the future role of the pupil will be largely influenced by school achievement, this is inevitable. But, at a more direct level, this power may be seen in the fact that pupils, not teachers, are examined. Of course, teachers are sometimes judged through the public examination results of their pupils. Although general inspections by HMI or Local Authority inspectors do take place, these are rare and only ever affect a minority of teachers.

As a means of maintaining their power there is a danger that some teachers might allow the importance of conformity to be overstressed. King (1973) in his study of a large number of comprehensive schools found great importance attached to ritual. He suggested that the demonstration of control in the school assembly and the attention to detail of school uniform are "two devices used by teachers and headteachers as social control litmus paper".

If insistence on conformity is one way that some schools maintain control over their pupils, then it is not surprising that misbehaviour is found in these schools. Indeed one psychologist has recently argued that schools 'vandalise' pupils by their insistence on conformity and their systematic undermining of pupils' confidence by concentration of failure rather than success (Raven, 1979).

Whilst Raven's judgement of schools appears harsh, the tenor of his criticism echoes those of a medieval writer on child discipline. "But ye hem them in on every side with terrors, threats and stripes so that they can get no liberty whatsoever; wherefore, being thus indiscreetly afflicted, they put forth a target of evil thoughts like thorns ...." (Coulton, 1967). St. Anselm, it seems, was in no doubt of the ability of schools to create misbehaviour!

Raven's criticism that schools concentrate on failure rather than success raises the important point that whilst the overt task of schools is usually the achievement of learning, and good behaviour is seen as the means of facilitating this, the two tasks are very difficult to separate. Findings from the Isle of Wight survey (Rutter et al., 1970) and the ILEA Literacy Study (Varlaam, 1974) have indicated that misbehaviour frequently follows a child's experience of academic failure. Even at a relatively early age the existence of reading difficulties appears to predict behaviour problems with a frightening accuracy. Though the frustration of the child in failing to achieve this important stage in learning may be considerable, it is likely that the problem is exacerbated by the pupil's perception, rightly or wrongly, of his status in the class.

However, in stressing the school role in creating misbehaviour, it is important not to lose sight of the difficulties faced by some teachers. Few jobs carry the risk of insult and ridicule to the extent that teaching does, and engaging the attention of classes of adolescents of various interests and abilities is not easy.

Another feature of classroom life which makes teaching initially very difficult, is the privacy of the work. This may sound a strange way of describing a job involving so much personal contact, but the interactions which take place between one teacher and the class are curiously private to the rest of the school. Where that relationship is successful, this privacy can enable productive teaching to take place. Where the relationship fails, that same privacy may imprison the teacher. This problem is exacerbated because teachers are reluctant to admit failure. Thus, even after an appalling lesson in which everything has gone wrong, the teacher may go into the staffroom and outwardly reveal nothing of the situation. Fellow teachers, who may well have seen or heard enough of the lesson to guess what has taken place, find it difficult to broach the topic, as doing so may imply criticism. The opportunity for help is lost and the teacher has to battle on!

This attitude contrasts with that of other professional groups. In medicine, social work and educational psychology, newly qualified practitioners are under close supervision and asking for help, in the form of a second opinion, is normal practice. In schools criticism implies personal rather than professional failure.

Who then is to blame for misbehaviour in schools? Is it the pupil, the teacher, or in fact, the school; or is the question too complex to answer?

Where pupils are totally disinterested, perhaps resenting the compulsion to attend, then it is clear they must take a share of the blame. Pupils have always misbehaved to a certain extent, but at times can 'go too far'. Playing up the teacher can become callous goading. Bullying a weaker pupil and ridiculing children who are, in some ways, different have always been features of school life. In all these cases of 'going too far' although the background of the pupil may well be cited as providing extenuating circumstances, the blame for the misbehaviour must lie predominantly with the pupils concerned.

But what if misbehaviour occurs because of the manifest unfairness of the teacher? What about the pupil who reacts to a bullying, over-authoritarian regime? What about the class who are bored for lesson after lesson and who see their chances of examination success slipping away through poor teaching, and who turn to misbehaviour for relief from this boredom?

In these situations the teacher must take a share of the blame. However, the teacher does not exist in isolation from the school. Of course, there are good and bad teachers. Some have personalities ideal for their job. There are others though, less naturally suitable who, with support from a school where the privacy of lessons is seen as unhelpful, can learn the craft of teaching. These people may never be brilliant teachers but they can learn to be competent (Marland, 1975).

It is clear that, whilst responsibility for any instance of misbehaviour may be traced to particular pupils or teachers, the school, as a social institution, will also exert a certain influence over that behaviour. The ethos of any school may be positive or negative.

How, then, can a positive ethos in which misbehaviour is kept well within normal limits, be created and maintained? First, by accepting that there are no simple solutions to this problem. Even where the regime is so structured that the likelihood of misbehaviour by the majority is low, life may be disrupted by a minority of pupils. Heads and teachers should perhaps use their skills to minimise the chances of misbehaviour and, when it does occur, prevent an over-reaction from dominating the life of the school.

Second, the Head and teachers need to have clear ideas of what they are trying to achieve (Jones, 1976; Richardson, 1973). The relationship of these aims to the daily life of the school must be made obvious to the pupils. Whilst education is surely about more than just academic success, this is an area which is still important to pupils. This is hardly surprising since the average day in most secondary schools is spent in ostensibly developing academic skills and acquiring knowledge within a framework of courses, syllabi, and ultimately, examinations. Whatever 'hidden' curriculum or covert aims of personal development may be in the teacher's mind, the overt aims and apparatus are largely academic.

Third, support must be provided for new teachers, They should not be left in isolation but ought to be given the opportunity to see experienced colleagues at work and given regular, constructive feedback that will enable them to improve their own performance.

Finally, the Head must provide leadership that encourages the staff to value their own skill as teachers. In recent years some teachers have lost confidence in their role. They have felt, especially in areas of social disadvantage, that they should be social workers, psychotherapists or even friends to their pupils; anything rather than teachers! This has sometimes created difficulties for them and their pupils. Heads now have the chance to correct the balance. Many Heads already do this. A recent HMI enquiry stressed the importance of the quality of leadership of the

Head (HMI, 1977). Perhaps I can end by quoting their conclusion. "What they (the schools) all have in common is effective leadership and a 'climate' that is conducive to growth. The schools see themselves as places designed for learning; they take trouble to make their philosophy explicit for themselves and to explain them to parents and pupils; the foundation for their work and corporate life is acceptance of shared values" (p.

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THE EMOTIONAL CLIMATE IN THE CLASSROOM : THE INTERACTION BETWEEN ADULT TEACHER AND EARLY ADOLESCENT STUDENTS

Peter Wilson and Virginia Bottomley

During the course of a series of discussions with teachers, designed to improve understanding of relationships within the classroom, we have been struck by the degree of stress which they have described in coping with the demands of their work. These teachers are adult, experienced professionals, who have demonstrated their competence in the field. Yet they have complained at times of intense feelings of frustration and failure; of difficulties in maintaining control over their students or over strong feelings aroused in themselves by their students; of uncertainty and a sense of helplessness in knowing how to respond in certain classroom situations. This level of teacher stress has generally been attributed to a variety of factors; oversized classes, compacted timetables, changing curricula, staff organisational structures and so forth. It is our view, however, that a central source of anxiety experienced among secondary school teachers arises from the sheer demand of having to respond to the emotional complexities of a student population engaged in the developmental struggles of early adolescence.

The classroom can be seen as functioning at different levels of experience. Formally, it is a place of learning: the teacher teaches his subject to a group of students receptive to new information and ideas. More broadly, it is a meeting place of old and young, in which the adult can be a facilitator of talent and abilities and the adolescent has the opportunity to identify with the standards,values and limits conveyed by the conduct and attitudes of the teachers. But at a more fundamental level, the classroom is the arena for the experiencing and enactment of a variety of feelings engendered within the group and associated with the essential dependency that characterises the relationship of student to teacher. It is to the latter, the irrational climate of the classroom, that we wish to address ourselves.

In order to gain some sense of the numerous currents that affect this climate, it is necessary to consider three powerful phenomena: the developmental experience of early adolescence, the influence of transference in relationships and finally the counter-response of the adult to the adolescent.

THE DEVELOPMENTAL EXPERIENCE OF EARLY ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence is a transitional stage of psychological development, between childhood and adulthood, that accompanies and follows the physical

changes of the body initiated at puberty. It extends into the early twenties, by which time certain developmental tasks have hopefully been negotiated, culminating in the establishment of an adult personality structure. The earlier part of adolescence differs from its later stage with respect to the central preoccupation of the individual. A dividing line between early and late adolescence can be drawn around the age of 15 and 16 at which time physical and sexual maturity is normally reached. The prinicipal internal developmental task of early adolescence has to do with leaving behind the relative equilibrium and close dependency of childhood and of establishing a separate, more independent sense of self. The creation of a new self-image necessarily involves the acceptance and integration of new bodily functions and impulses associated with the advent of puberty and determining the formation of sexual identity. The onset of menstruation in the girl and of emissions in the boy has a profound effect on the mind of the developing child and on his view of himself as a man or woman. The dramatic changes in size, shape and sexual characteristics of a young adolescent's body set a quite new and different dimension to the childhood/adolescent experience. The central developmental issue in the young adolescent has to do with his ability to take ownership of his own body and achieve means of finding control over it and feeling comfortable with it. In contrast, late adolescence corresponds with the relative settling of the physical and sexual advance and is concerned more with the consolidation and application of what has earlier been formed and created. The essential difference between early and late adolescence is that, in the former, there is a more pronounced quality of drivenness, of a tendency to act on impulse and struggle for the establishment of an identity. In late adolescence, a greater degree of inner control is normally achieved permitting greater freedom for self evaluation and reflection on the nature of the self and the sexual identity that has been formed.

In early adolescence, with the growth and change of the pubertal body, there occurs an intensification of the sexual and aggressive force within the individual. This is both exciting and frightening to the young adolescent and lays the basis for the marked alternation of progressive and regressive trends which typically characterises this period of life. The progressive internal momentum is propelled by the underlying physical maturation, leading the individual towards experimentation, discovery and a broadening awareness of himself and his capacities. The regressive trend, however, is activated by anxiety associated with the new and often intense bodily sensations and bewildering images which begin to enter into fantasy life. The wish to pull back and regain the status quo ante of a relatively more ordered and protected childhood is as natural a tendency of early adolescence as is the desire to move forward and achieve autonomy. The paradox is, however, that in seeking retreat, the adolescent finds himself threatened by the revival of infantile and childhood loving and hating feelings, principally towards his parents, which are now magnified within the frame of an increasingly powerful and sexual body. Infantile wishes to be cared for and mothered, toddler struggles with regard to body control and autonomy and oedipal feelings of love and hate, possessiveness, jealousy and rivalry become re-awakened and relived. This regressive recapitulation of past, mainly

repressed feelings, is a necessary process in the overall developmental task of integrating genital impulses and fundamental aggressive and sexual feelings into a distinct sexual identity. In order for the young adolescent to learn about his sexuality, to gain some clarity about what kind of man or woman he wants to be, it is important to allow himself to regress, to get in touch with the source of his ambivalences in relationship to his mother and father and redefine what is sexually acceptable and not acceptable. This is a painful and confusing process since it revives earlier childhood conflicts, fears and disappointments; it is also frightening, in view of the intensity of childhood feelings becoming augmented now in a physically maturing body.

The developmental processes of early adolescence which we have outlined, thus involve a complex interaction of progressive and regressive trends which we see operating largely at an unconscious level within the individual. The tensions and feelings which arise from these internal processes are lived out most immediately in the context of the family. The impact of the emerging adolescent on other members of the family can be equated to the impact of puberty on the adolescent himself. The adolescents developing sexuality and strength, as well as his quest for an independent self, can arouse strong unresolved feelings, wishes and attitudes in relationship to sexuality, aggression and separateness in the parents themselves. The parents' often unconscious counter-responses can contribute a powerful external force, with the effect of facilitating, distorting or opposing the adolescent move towards growth and independence. The complexity of the young adolescent's internal life is matched by the subtle collusive arrangements between the young adolescent and his parents in the family.

It is not surprising that, despite the excitement and potential for creativity and forward movement in this developmental stage, the early adolescent experience is one largely coloured by confusion and apprehension. The intensity and newness of the body sensations and the difficulties in controlling thoughts and behaviour create a sense of helplessness and in some a sense of madness. This is a time when adolescents harbour worries about their bodies, their genitals and their masturbatory excitements and fantasies that fill their secret lives. They live in a culture of heightened sexuality and yet many remain curiously ignorant of what it is about; uncertain about what is right or wrong, fearful of their involvements and concerned about their normality and adequacy. Their sense of self is in many ways still embryonic, insufficiently differentiated from their parents and largely defined in negatives, loosely moulded around varying identifications both within and outside the family. They are not clear who they are and for the most part feel different. There is an increasingly pervasive sense of aloneness; feeling as one adolescent put it, "apart" from his parents but only "half a part" of the group. The group is a necessary reassurance, but as Winnicott described it, it is but an "aggregate of isolates" - a coming together of individuals in need of a sense of belongingness, but as yet too self-preoccupied and uncertain of themselves to form a coherent group.

It is our view that all adolescents go through this experience one way or another, though with varying degrees of distress or of self-awareness. The majority of adolescents are able to survive it without undue unhappiness and indeed can draw stimulus from its anxiety to generate forward movement. Their ability to do so is dependent on the strength of internal coping resources developed in earlier phases of development. In general, their defensive structure is sufficiently intact and resilient to absorb the impact of puberty, to allow an appropriate degree of regression and to tolerate feelings of depression. They are able to disengage from the internal tie to their parents usually by de-idealisation and some measure of rebellion, with the assistance of peer group support and new adult relationships outside the family. In this they are facilitated by parents who are themselves ready to cope with being left, and attacked at times, by their former children.

Some adolescents however experience the internal processes of early adolescence as overwhelming and encounter parental attitudes which seek to be overly controlling and intrusive or which are indifferent. They enter adolescence with a fragile hold over their impulses and feelings and with a low self-esteem, invariably associated with a disturbed relationship to the parents. Their aggressive feelings, usually built from cumulative experiences of undue deprivation and frustration in childhood, become intensified and threaten to outweigh the binding force of their loving feelings. Their new physical sensations and erotic fantasies become sources of intense anxiety over which they feel they have no control. There is a pervasive threat of incestuous consummation, whether in fantasy or in actuality, and a heightened fear of aggressive breakthrough and the consequences of that happening. The underlying wish to give in to the passive need to be cared for arouses deep fears of becoming controlled and overwhelmed. These adolescents may enter into a state of adolescent breakdown and present various manifestations of their internal disturbance. Some may retreat from the demands of relationships, both with adults and with peers, avoiding activities that might arouse in them potentially uncontrollable aggressive wishes, feelings of envy or jealousy or competitiveness; or not entering into any situation that might excite or expose their sexual wishes or anxieties. Others may act out, recklessly and destructively, whether as a result of poor impulse control or defensively to ward off experiences of feeling helpless.

In drawing this picture of the internal experience of the early adolescent we have intended to throw some light on the emotional state with which the young adolescent enters his work-place, the school. Clearly this is a general picture and, as mentioned, the majority of adolescents manifest few disturbing indications of the developmental stress with which they are contending. Much of their adolescent struggle will be played out and contained within their families, leaving them relatively free emotionally to mobilise their progressive strivings in the service of increased learning and to enjoy widening relationships in the school setting. A sizeable proportion of adolescents, however, will find school a less facilitating environment; not so much because of its actual imitations as because of the adolescents' inability to make use of it and to percieve and accept its benign purpose. These are the adolescents whom we have described as being overwhelmed by the

adolescent experience. Their past childish needs have not been met or have brought them into entrenched conflict; the revival and augmentation of these in early adolescence places considerable pressure on their already precarious defences. It is inevitable that without adequate internal controls or a sufficiently holding family environment, their feelings about themselves and their parents will spill over into their current lives in the school situation. It is not surprising, especially in view of the early adolescent tendency towards action rather than reflection, that these adolescents will seek to discharge anxiety, relieve depression and displace their feelings towards their parents in the classroom and onto the teachers.

TRANSFERENCE IN TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS

It is in the above context that we find the phenomenom of transference of central importance in understanding the tensions that exist within the classroom. We refer to transference in its general rather than clinical sense; that is to say that in all human relationships there is a spontaneous tendency to relate to other people not as they actually are in their own right but as representatives of other significant people, usually parents, or other intimate caretaking figures. As a result of the influence of transference, relationships become distorted by inappropriate expectations and inaccurate perceptions; past experiences become relived in the present and there is often a forceful tendency for the individual to provoke reenactment of earlier experiences in current relationships. It should be stressed that transference constitutes only one dimension in any human relationship and that under normal circumstances people are able to perceive and relate to each other more or less as they actually are. The transference element develops particularly under certain conditions and it is instructive to examine these in the light of the classroom situation.

In general, transferential tendencies become increasingly predominant at times of increased anxiety and in situations of dependency and confusion. As we have seen, these conditions characterise the early adolescent experience; and it is to be expected in any young adolescent group, particularly in a classroom in relationship to the teacher whose position carries some authority, that there will arise attitudes towards the teacher, and expectations of him, which have little bearing on his own intentions or characteristics. Ordinarily these can be held in check within the momentum and business of the classroom - that is to say, by the teacher's demand for keeping to the subject being taught and the adolescent's own readiness to learn from new experiences and relationships. The more vulnerable adolescents, however, will be more inclined to colour their perceptions of the teacher in the familiar tones drawn from past or current relationships outside the classroom. Their view of the teacher may become sufficiently distorted for them to lose sight of the positive educational intentions of the teacher. Instead, the teacher may be seen as someone to be defied or opposed, similar to the adolescents' own parents; resisted for fear of some imagined attack or seduction; or denigrated as they themesleves may feel elsewhere. Under these circumstances, their capacity to be receptive and cooperative in the learning process will be seriously interfered with; their more

positive yearnings to be admired, praised and acknowledged will increasingly be accompanied by a sense of frustration, leading to revived feelings of despair and disappointment and to retaliatory wishes towards the teacher.

We have noticed that, in addition to the conditions that generate the transferential tendency in young adolescents and particularly in vulnerable adolescents, there are certain situations in the school which can have a fostering effect on the development of transference. These arise wherever the teacher allows himself, for one reason or another, to enter into a more close and open relationship with the individual adolescent than is ordinarily the case. This might occur for example in a remedial class setting where the size of the group may be relatively small, the demands of the subject matter less rigorous and the emotional needs of the group more pressing. The teaching of certain subjects, such as English or Domestic Sciences, may also evoke personal expressions which may draw the adolescent into a more intimate involvement with the teacher than is the case in the teaching of other subjects. In these situations, in particular, the teacher may make his own personality more accessible,broadening his role as teacher and so eliciting more readily in his students feelings which derive from past and current experience in the family.

COUNTER-RESPONSES OF THE TEACHER

To this point we have attempted to focus on the emotional climate of the classroom in the secondary school; to understand the irrational forces that are at play, which arise from the developmental experience of adolescence and from the influence of transference phenomena. The total effect of these various forces is to exert considerable pressure upon the teacher who is perceived and related to in a variety of ways, many of which are inappropriate. The teachers' counter-response to these varied emotional demands will naturally depend on his own personality and coping resources. Clearly it will affect his capacity to teach effectively, the kind of decisions he makes and the interventions he adopts in working with his students. Ideally his task as adult/teacher is to establish himself as a relatively stable, containing presence, capable of achieving a sufficient degree of structure in the classroom, yet with some allowance for free expression and for learning to take place. The achievement of this ideal is, of course,impossible to maintain, not least because of the anxieties and sensitivities which are exposed in the teacher by the adolescent's demands.

The interactions between the adult teacher and the adolescent student are complex and are expressed in various subtle ways. To give some illustration of this complexity, it may be instructive to describe one common type of disturbed interaction which is determined essentially by certain primary modes of relating which some adolescents are inclined to relive in the classroom situation. This is likely to be experienced, for example, with those adolescents whose childhoods have been characterised by experiences of severe deprivation and undue frustration; where early mothering has been absent or inadequate and where the child has gained little sense of safety or basic trust in his environment. In

early adolescence, the developmental demand to achieve separateness and assume responsibility for the body and self will be experienced by these adolescents with intense feelings of loneliness and apprehension; and the regressive need to grasp what was not given before, intensified. In the classroom, these adolescents will be more inclined than others to look to the teacher to gratify their own unfulfilled wishes to be nurtured and cared for. They will tend to seek attention in a particularly demanding, almost greedy way, looking for special privileges or asking interminable repetitive questions and expecting the teacher to know in some magical way what their needs are. The initial effect of this plea upon the teacher is usually a positive one. It fits with the teacher's own need to be wanted and feeds his fantasy of being the omnipotent saviour, powerful and protective. Difficulties arise, however, as his capacity to extend himself to the adolescent emotionally, and in the context of having to deal with the whole group, will necessarily be limited. The teacher's imperfection will re-awaken earlier experiences in the adolescent of being let down. The adolescent will become touchy about not being noticed immediately, about not being told exactly what to do or about not being given enough in general - whether it be time, attention or indeed work. The adolescent's infantile fury in response to these perceived repeated frustrations will be re-aroused and his attitude will grow increasingly resentful. This is a source of much anti-social behaviour in classrooms; that is to say, the acting out of deep seated aggressive feelings which have developmentally become intensified in early adolescence and aroused in the inevitable experience of disappointment in the classroom.

Even if the teacher is alert to these strong irrational elements and attempts to reach further to meet the adolescent's needs, it is likely that he will meet with continued opposition. The adolescent's wariness, his entrenched fear of repeated disappointments will lead him defensively to reject added provision in order to test out and to evoke more. The teacher will increasingly be seen as the persecutor, someone intent on 'picking on' the student. The situation for the teacher becomes an increasingly exasperating one. His earlier positive inclinations give way to more negative feelings. Not only does he feel drained by the adolescent's excessive demands and resentful of the adolescent's unreasonableness and ingratitude, but his whole self-esteem as a helping, caring adult and teacher is undermined. It appears that there is no way that he can succeed in getting through to the adolescent student. He is left with feelings of inadequacy - feeling as useless and as unwanted as the adolescent himself may feel - and guilty. These are painful feelings and in defence the teacher understandably may turn away; either ignoring or resorting to blaming or punishing the adolescent. This only serves to confirm the expectations of the adolescent; the adolescent's transferential provocation of rejection and attack have had a powerful effect, repeating the past in the present and contributing to its replication in the future.

This account may seem unnecessarily dramatic and specific only to a limited number of adolescents. It is our view however that this level of interaction is of more general relevance in so far as all adolescents in one way or another re-experience the kind of infantile tensions which

we have described. It is not unusual, for example, for a teacher to feel that a whole class has behaved in a similarly over-demanding, resentful and unreasonable manner. This is not simply because of the unconscious collusion and identification of the rest. The stress which the teacher experiences is related to his task of having to deal with the impact of the cumulative force of common needs and frustrations, augmented in the setting of an adolescent classroom group.

In drawing the above sequence of interactions, we have attempted to show the way in which both the adolescent student and adult teacher gradually begin to attack and frustrate each other, creating a cyclic momentum in which it is difficult to apportion any blame. For the purpose of illustration we have had to start with the assumption that the teacher's initial approach is benign and that the imbalance that is created is set in motion by the excess internal pressure of the adolescent himself. We are aware that this assumption cannot always apply since it is to be expected that not all teachers, for reasons of their own, will feel the same kind of tolerance of passive adolescent needs so described.

There are other types of interaction between the adolescent and the teacher which differ from the above primarily with respect to different levels of childhood experience which are re-enacted in early adolescence. There are many adolescents, for example, who seem to take positive pleasure in tormenting and opposing the teacher, attempting to win some imagined battle in order to achieve a sense of control. The major preoccupation of these adolescents is with the issue of power and with the achievement of an independence, in defiance of the authority of the teacher. Their struggle is in the adolescent cause of separation and individuation and is derivative of earlier toddler battles to achieve control over the body and independence from the parents. Where these battles have been protracted in childhood, most usually in response to overly anxious and intrusive parenting, they become particularly pronounced in the adolescent rebellion. What is at stake in such adolescents is not so much the fear of loss of love or abandonment but the threat to their own developing autonomous selves. What they will bring in their transference to their relationship to the teacher will be an entrenched negativism, a stubborn refusal to comply and at times a sadistic attempt to reduce the authority of the teacher. The effect of this kind of force on the teacher, whether from certain individuals or as expressed corporately in the adolescent group, will be to threaten the sense of self and of control that the teacher has achieved for himself, and to evoke the unresolved sadism which resides in the teacher, as in all of us. Depending on the level of maturity reached by the teacher, his reactive and defensive tendency will be to join the battle, holding on to whatever power is retained and resolving not to give in. The temptation in the teacher to withhold privileges, to wield sarcasm and to impose more sanctions will be great. This emotional response is understandable, but its effect can only be to exacerbate the situation, entrenching the battle and allowing little opportunity for the emergence of more positive aspects of the ambivalence which is expressed in this kind of interaction.

Similarly, to the extent that oedipal feelings are transferred beyond the family onto the classroom situation, there will arise tensions

between the teacher and student which essentially have to do with sexual wishes and frustrations. Teachers can become the objects of quite powerful loving and hating feelings, which are based upon the adolescent quest for exclusive admiration and praise from the teacher and on the frustrations that are bound to occur in the emotionally competitive atmosphere of the classroom. A male teacher may find himself idealised by some adolescents, flirted with by some girls and vigorously competed with by the boys. A woman teacher may become the object of intense passion both by girls and boys, sought out at times quite possessively as an adult sexual woman with whom to identify, and both chatted up and denigrated sexually by the adolescents she teaches. The oedipal patterns of relationship are extremely various and too complex to encompass adequately in this paper. The fundamental preoccupation, however, is with genital sexuality and with feelings of possessiveness, rivalry and jealousy. These feelings, primarily experienced within the family, can be quite forcefully displaced and directed towards the teacher.

The teacher's counter-response to these feelings will clearly be determined by his own confidence in his sexuality, his own susceptibilities and vulnerabilities to sexual exposure, admiration and ridicule. It can, for example, be very flattering to the teacher, particularly a teacher with growing mid-life doubts about his own potency and attractiveness, to be the recipient of seductive and admiring attitudes from certain young adolescents. Equally, it can be extremely threatening. Moreover, where the frustrations of this period are brought into the teacher/adolescent relationship, there can be a great deal of discomfort and embarrassment aroused in the teacher in having to cope with the rivalrous, competitive attitude of some adolescents and with the characteristic tendency of the more vulnerable to attack and denigrate the sexuality of the teacher. This can occur, for example, among some adolescent boys, whose oedipal disappointments in relationship to their mothers and whose uncertainty about their own emerging masculinity, have been left with a pronounced hatred of women. This can find expression in a mode of relating which can be extremely distressing to the teacher, e.g. where a group of adolescent boys are inclined to poke the woman teacher with their sexual jokes and taunts, getting a rise out of her, penetrating her vulnerabilities and making her feel as insecure as they do about their own sexuality. What needs to be emphasised is that the force of this sexual and passionate feeling has the effect of challenging the teacher's own attitudes towards, and control over, her own sexuality. It is not uncommon for the teacher's reaction to be equivocal; both responding to the sexual excitement yet recoiling from it. This equivocation can be confusing to the adolescents, leading, in some instances, to overly close involvements that invariably end in disappointment and resentment; or to excessively competitive, sometimes ridiculing attacks which may have a belittling effect on the adolescent; or to defensive indifference which can unnecessarily raise doubts in the adolescents about their sense of adequacy.

In describing these various types of interaction between the adult teacher and adolescent students, we have focussed on the emotional interplay between the two which we believe underlies the more formal tasks of teaching and learning. Our view is that the emotional forces on both

sides are powerful, operating in large measure at an unconscious level and having a potentially disruptive effect on both teaching and learning activities. In the classroom the teacher stands at the centre of a young adolescent group, the sole adult onto whom a great deal of conflicting emotion is directed. The teacher finds himself unwittingly drawn into a wide variety of complex relationships with his students, which are in our view largely formed by the internal developmental needs and anxieties of the adolescent students. The individual and corporate pressure of these needs and anxieties, expressed in relationships in large measure through the distorting effect of transference, constitutes a formidable emotional demand on the teachers.

The teacher's counter-response to this pressure will be less than perfect. It will be determined essentially according to the extent to which he himself has successfully negotiated the developmental tasks of adolescence. A great deal depends on how far the teacher himself has integrated the more infantile aspects of his own life; how far he has developed a confident image of himself as a sexual being with a sense of self that is distinct and separate; how far he has come to terms with, and developed adequate methods of coping with his own sexuality and aggression. His view of the group of young adolescents around him will be significantly fashioned by his view of his own adolescence. If his own adolescence has been a time of unhappiness, confusion and desperate rebellion, he will be more inclined either to empathise and perhaps over identify with these characteristics in his students, or seek to find ways of not facing it, assuming a dismissive and even punitive attitude towards his students. Equally, the adult's envy of the more progressive, expansive aspects of adolescence can give rise to considerable ambivalence in the adult; either deriving enjoyment from his students' youthful vigour and experimentation or in subtle ways choosing to attack and begrudge their adolescence.

The combination of the adolescent demand and the uncertainty that is aroused in the teacher can create an experience of anxiety in the teacher in which he feels emotionally pulled in all directions. He finds himself feeling alternately excited and despondent in relationship to students, often frightened by the strength of their feelings and his own and frequently angry with frustration and exasperation. At times, he feels in control, able to teach and get through to his students; at other times he feels reduced, persecuted and quite incompetent. These fluctuations correspond in some measure to the typical mood swings in the adolescents themselves, and supports our view that the level of stress we are describing is specifically related to the adolescents' developmental experience.

CONCLUSION

It has been the aim of this paper to highlight the emotional undercurrents that we believe significantly affect the emotional interchanges within the classroom. We are aware that some may regard our account as an over-statement: clearly there are many classes that are manifestly well-functioning and more or less centred around the business of the curriculum. It is our view, however, that in addition to the overt indications of disturbance and stress in certain classrooms, there resides

in all classrooms the elements of tension which we have described. Our concern is that these emotional factors are inclined to be minimised and denied. There is often a sense of shame in admitting to the kinds of feelings we have indicated as if there pervades within the culture of many schools a persistent ideal that the teachers should at all times achieve the virtues of control, fairness and benign intention. This ideal clearly does not fit with the reality, that all teachers are people with personal vulnerabilities of their own and which are exacerbated by the developmental pressures of their adolescent student population.

The discrepancy between an accepted ideal of perfection in teachers and the reality of their human limitations, constitutes the basis for much of the stress to which we have paid attention in this paper. In addition to the anxiety aroused in them by the demands of their students, they are especially susceptible to feelings of inadequacy and failure. At the end of a long day, it is not uncommon for teachers to be left with a tarnished image of themselves; with a sense that they have not handled certain situations appropriately and the knowledge that an adolescent's needs have not been adequately met. It is a frequent source of concern to many teachers, for example, that they have had, in the end, to resort to excluding a particular child from a classroom, even though they have been aware that this might be experienced as a painful and possibly damaging rejection by the adolescent. The danger of not acknowledging the conflictual feelings aroused in the teachers is that teachers are left with silent resentment and self-doubts which can accumulate into feelings of despair and resignation. Many inter-staff tensions, we believe, arise from the displacement of these underlying feelings, putting blame on each other and passing responsibility in general negative criticism of the system.

In this paper, we have focussed on the complex interplay of emotional factors that complicate the relationship of adult teacher and young adolescent in the classroom. We have emphasised the active internal force of the early adolescent developmental process and have drawn out some of the elements of stress which the adult teacher experiences in response to this force. We have pointed, in effect, to a dimension of school life which we find to be inadequately considered or generally dismissed as unnecessarily 'psychological' and beyond the skill of the ordinary teacher. It is our view that the feelings aroused in the classroom are very much within the province of the teacher's work; and that it is part of the professional task of the teacher to attend to the emotional struggles of the adolescents they teach and to the irrational responses which are evoked in himself. This is not to argue that the teacher becomes therapist; but rather that the teacher learns to be more effective in his educational and facilitative capacity, by broadening his knowledge of the underlying forces which we believe seriously disrupt the learning experience. Faced with the many difficulties encountered in the classroom, there is rarely the one right response which the teacher can adopt in any given situation. Of greater importance is the achievement of a relatively balanced attitude in the teacher towards these difficulties, which ultimately is based on self-knowledge. For this to be accomplished, it seems imperative that a genuine ethos of support be established in the school as a whole, in which teachers can find opportunity to share their doubts and uncertainties about their work and about themselves, without fear or rebuke, censure or accusation of incompetence.

THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS

Graham Upton

Positive concern for our own social and emotional development has been a surprisingly recent phenomenon. While abnormal behaviour has apparently been part of the human condition in all times and all cultures, prior to the 18th century the number of people who maintained a scientific and humane attitude towards such problems was limited. As Martin (1977) points out, in ancient times and in the Middle Ages "many individuals suffering from behaviour disorders were probably convicted as witches" (p. 29) or "simply allowed to wander the streets and the countryside, begging or stealing, and making out as best they could" (p. 31).

Interest in children's social and emotional development was equally slow to appear. Kanner (1962) reports an almost total absence of illusions to work with children with emotional disorders before the eighteenth century, and suggests that it was not until around the middle of the nineteenth century that there was any attempt to look for explanations of children's behaviour on other than pseudotheological or pseudomoralistic grounds. Even then he suggested that "there was a tendency towards fatalism which saw in the disorders the irreversible results of heredity, degeneracy, masturbation, overwork, religious preoccupation, intenstinal parasites, or sudden changes of temperature" (p. 99).

The Medical Model

Early attempts to intervene and provide help for children and adults with emotional problems were almost all of medical origins. Subsequently such intervention has been primarily a medical concern. Hence, the principle people concerned with intervention have been psychiatrists and the principle institution for intervention has been the psychiatric hospital or clinic. Similarly problems have been conceptualized in terms of causes, symptoms, diagnosis and treatment - all essentially medically oriented concepts.

In assessing the importance of the medical influence one should clearly give due credit for the extent to which this has produced a more caring, humane approach to the treatment and understanding of people experiencing emotional difficulties. For, now, instead of describing such people as possessed or mad we adopt the sort of attitude outlined so eloquently by Ellis (1967) who describes the "human being who at the present time is behaving in a self-defeating and/or needlessly anti-social manner and who will most probably continue to do so in the future, and, although he is partially creating or causing (and in this sense is responsible for) his aberrant behaviour, he is still not to be condemned for creating it but is to be helped to overcome it" (p. 445).

Mental Illness

At the same time it is the present author's contention that the medical model has brought with it certain legacies which have limited, and still do limit, our understanding of problems in social and emotional development. For the medical influence has resulted in a general tendency to view social and emotional problems in a very narrow context, whereby "the individual who exhibits disturbed and aberrant behaviour is sick; he is suffering from an illness that prevents his normal adjustment in society" (Scott, 1958, p. 27). In recent years a number of authors have questioned the value of an illness model to refer to what they argue cannot be readily conceived of as illness. The arch protagonist in this debate has undoubtedly been the American psychiatrist, Thomas Szasz. With his conroversial paper, "The Myth of Mental Illness" (Szasz, 1960), Szasz launched a controversy which has gathered momentum ever since. In this article, and in a subsequent book with the same title (Szasz, 1972), Szasz challenged medical domination of the field and questioned the very basis of their understanding - the medical model. The essence of Szasz's argument is caught in the following quotation:

> I have tried to show that the notion of mental illness has outlived whatever usefulness it might have had and that it now functions merely as a convenient myth. As such it is the true heir to a religious myth in general, and to the belief in witchcraft in particular; the role of these belief systems was to act as social tranquilisers, thus encouraging the hope that the mastery of certain specific problems may be achieved by means of substitutive (symbolic - magical) operations. The notion of mental illness thus serves to obscure the everyday fact that life for most people is a continuous struggle, not for biological survival, but for 'a place in the sun', 'peace of mind', or some other human value. For man aware of himself and of the world about him, once the needs for preserving the body (and perhaps the race) are more or less satisfied, the problem arises as to what he should do with himself. Sustained adherence to the myth of mental illness allows people to avoid facing this problem, believing that mental health, conceived as the absence of mental illness, automatically insures the making of right and safe choices in one's conduct of life. But the facts are all the other way. It is the making of good choices in life that others regard, retrospectively, as good mental health.
>
> The myth of mental illness encourages us, moreover, to believe in its logical corollary: that social intercourse would be harmonious, satisfying and the secure basis of a 'good life' were it not for the disrupting influences of mental illness.
>
> ..... Our adversaries are not demons, witches, fate, or mental illness. We have no enemy whom we can fight, exorcise, or dispel by 'cure'. What we do have are problems in living ... mental illness is a myth, whose function it is to disguise and thus render more palatable the bitter pill or moral conflicts in human relations (p. 118).

Since Szasz's original denunciation of the concept there has been

something of a running battle raging. Criticism has been met with counter criticism and defence with further attack. Thus, for example, Albee (1968) writes that the idea that "people who exhibit disturbed and disturbing behaviour are sick is a fundamental conceptual error" (p. 168) and for which, he later wrote, "there is precious little evidence" (Albee, 1969, p. 872). On the other hand Ausubel (1961) urges that "it is both unnecessary and potentially dangerous to discard the concept of mental illness" (p. 74) and Macklin (1972) concludes "that there is no compelling reason to adopt Szasz's view that mental illness is a myth and that personality disorders and psychological problems are inappropriately viewed as illness and properly to be construed as 'problems in living' (p. 363).

Interestingly, but not unexpectedly, the medically oriented establishment has been largely resistant to arguments against the underlying medical model and the type of intervention it provides - Phillips and Draguns (1971) comment on the "endurance and reassertion of the contruct of illness in the face of apparently cogent and incisive critiques" (p. 472). At the same time things have changed and continue to change in a number of important ways and a number of models for conceptualizing problems in social and emotional development have been developed as alternatives to the medical model.

The Concept of Deviance

During the 1960's sociologists in particular focussed on the concept of deviance and proposed a new orientation which has been commonly referred to as the 'labelling theory' or 'interactionist' approach. Instead of focussing on individual pathology (as is traditional with the medical model) the interactionist perspective has focussed on social processes and the way in which individuals come to be labelled as deviant (or mentally ill, or delinquent, or maladjusted).

Hargreaves et al. (1975) suggest that this new approach has been characterized by two features:

a) First deviance is seen as a question of social definition. Deviance does not arise when a person commits certain kinds of act. Rather, deviance arises when some other person(s) defines that act as deviant.

b) Second, deviance is seen as a relative phenomenon. If a deviant act is an act that breaks some rules, then since rules vary between different cultures, subcultures and groups, acts which are deviant (i.e. which break rules) in one culture, subculture or group may not be deviant in another culture, subculture or group.

These points are echoed by Kitsuse (1962) when he suggests that "deviance may be conceived of as a process by which the members of a group, community, or society (1) interpret behaviour as deviant, (2) define persons who so behave as a certain kind of deviant, and (3) accord them the treatment considered appropriate" (p. 248). Erikson (1967) translates the issue into more practical operational terms when he proposes that "deviance can be defined as conduct which is generally thought to require the attention of social control agencies - that is, conduct about which 'something should be done'" (p. 296).

The study of deviance has therefore introduced a focus on social processes into our attempts to understand the existence of behaviour problems. In schools such an orientation raises important questions. For example, from this perspective it could be argued that many of the problems that are encountered in schools result directly from the rules that are adopted for pupil behaviour. Thus, a policy on school uniform creates problems in terms of the children who do not abide by that rule while the absence of such a policy would mean that no problems would arise in this area. Taken to its logical extreme this would imply that a school with no rules would have no problem behaviour. While this may be true clearly social organisations like schools need rules. The number of rules required in any organisation and the nature of those rules is however in the hands of the people who control that organisation - in schools, the headmaster and the teaching staff. In the author's experience rules in schools are usually justified in terms of them being necessary responses to pupil behaviour. Labelling theory clearly inverts this argument and suggests the need for a careful consideration in any school of the number of rules that are necessary and desirable. In particular it raises the question of whether schools frequently generate too many rules and thus create problems about issues which may not be vital to the educative process.

The Concept of Causation

Under the influence of the medical model the emphasis in attempts to understand the development of behaviour problems has been on what might be termed individual and family pathology with little attention being placed on social influences such as that of the school. As was pointed out above early attempts to understand the development of behaviour problems frequently implicated the work of demons and heavenly retribution. More recently, sophisticated theories have taken the place of superstition and have done much to explain the dynamics of behavioural development. At the same time many empirically oriented researchers have approached behaviour problems from an epidemiological viewpoint, and have examined their distribution in the population in terms of their relationship with particular environmental and other developmental factors. As a result the emergence of behaviour problems has been associated with a wide range of factors. Foremost have been family influences ranging from poor housing conditions and low social class background through to more sophisticated elements of disrupted parent-child relationships and parental discord and disturbance. Equally strongly a variety of personal factors have been associated with behaviour problems ranging from poor physical development through low intellectual and academic ability to the child's sex (boys showing more problems that girls) and the existence of such syndromes as minimal brain dysfunction and hyperactivity. Good reviews of such literature and provided by Rutter and Madge (1976), Herbert (1974) and Upton (1978).

While most people would agree with Chazan (1968) when he suggests that "even if the home is the major influence, the school must be considered as having a considerable effect on the emotional development of its pupils" (p. 53), in research it has scarcely been considered in terms of its relationship to emotional development. Recently however, a number

of studies have begun to redress this imbalance between individual and family pathology and school influences. Studies by Power et al. (1972), Reynolds and Murgatroyd (1974), Gath et al. (1975) and Rutter et al. (1979), all testify to the extent to which schools can make marked differences in the behaviour patterns of their pupils. While to many teachers this may appear to be stating the obvious this would seem to be an area, further exploration of which, is vital, for as Rutter (1976) points out "little is yet known about which factors make for differences in a school environment and even less about how these operate" (p. 223). In the subsequent five years the position would not appear to have changed markedly. Why, we as teachers have been so slow to examine the function of our own institutions is not clear, although such a process is obviously potentially a threatening one for any school and it is perhaps much more comfortable to 'hide behind' the safety of concepts such as are impled in the study of individual and family pathology. To preserve our own professional status, however, this is perhaps a risk that must be taken.

The Behaviourist Approach

The growing influence of the behaviourist approach referred to in Chapters 6, 7 and 10 can be similarly be seen as a rejection of the medical model in that it assumes a very different conceptualisation of behaviour problems. To the behaviourist all behaviour is learned primarily as a result of that behaviour being reinforced - modification of that behaviour can thus be achieved through the manipulation of reinforcement. To the behaviourist distant causes and inner states are unimportant. Rather, the behaviourist focusses on observed behaviour and the environmental contingencies that maintain that behaviour.

The modification of children's behaviour through the use of reinforcement has been particularly popular in clinic work and in special schools. Why it has not been so popular in ordinary schools is not clear (see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion of this point) as it does offer the teacher a most practical means of dealing with problems which otherwise may seem unapproachable to anyone without a specialist therapeutic background. Part of the popularity of behaviour modification techniques must lie in their power to modify a wide range of behaviours, but equally some of their popularity must reflect the extent to which they de-mystify behaviour problems and conceptualise them in ways that are understandable to teachers and open to direct influence in the classroom. Further exploration of the use of these techniques in the ordinary school would seem long overdue.

Terminology

The terms which we use to describe problems related to social and emotional behaviour can also be seen to reflect the dominance of the medical model. Almost all of the terms currently in use do, as Whitmore (1975) suggests, "imply that the child is at fault" (p. 64). Commonly used terms such as maladjustment, psychiatric disorder and emotionally disturbed all assume that it is the child who is maladjusted, has a psychiatric disorder or is emotionally disturbed. They suggest that the problem resides within the child and that it is the child who must be treated and cured. As such they have been criticised by many authors for the extent to which they ignore the social context in which human behav-

iour occurs and the possibility of the locus of responsibility for the problem residing within the social system rather than within the child. Ravenette (1972), for example, is most critical of the term maladjustment and the extent to which a child may be labelled as maladjusted not because of his or her own needs but because of the needs of the school. He suggests that a distinction should be made between the disturbed and the disturbing child and argues that many children attract attention in the first instance because they are disturbing to teachers; whether they are disturbed in themselves is another matter.

In this sense such terms could be seen to function as what Szasz referred to above, as social tranquilisers, in that they remove the need for teachers to question the value of school structures and regimes. Any child who refuese to accept or conform to the values that have been built into the school can be readily explained away as being maladjusted or distrubed. To counter such tendencies, Whitmore (1975) argues in favour of using the term behaviour problems because he feels that such a term "requires identification of the person troubled, and this may be an adult, and it requires understanding of why certain behaviour creates a problem to the person concerned" (p. 64). To take this argument one step further we may wish to consider whether, at least in the first instance, we should think of such children as 'children with whom teachers have difficulty' - this may be a useful first step towards a more adequate conceptualisation of a situation which is clearly not appropriately described solely in terms of individual pathology.

The Early Years Controversy

In the study of child development in general, but in the study of social and emotional development in particular, there has also been an emphasis on what has been described as the over-riding importance of the early years. Thus Hurlock (1953) writes that:

> Childhood is the foundation period of life. This is the time when attitudes, habits and patterns of behaviour are established and when the personality is moulded. What form these will take will determine, to a large extent, how successfully or unsuccessfully the individual will be able to adjust to life as he grows older (p. 7).

Assumptions about the importance of the early years and the subsequent stability of human behaviour are also particularly common in literature concerned with children's behaviour problems. Laslett, (1977), for instance, provides a good example of the tacit acceptance of such ideas when he defines maladjusted children as children "whose difficulties will persist unless help is given" (p. 3). Mongan (1976) embraces similar assumptions when he expresses a common complaint of secondary school teachers and many teachers of the maladjusted that secondary school age referral of maladjusted children "reduced the possibility of success with a child . . . whose disturbance has been reinforced by age, habit and adolescence" (p. 6). It is assumed that a child who displays problems during adolescence must have displayed those problems at an earlier age.

Such assumptions about the development of behaviour problems might be seen to reflect medical concepts of development paralleling those of most other aspects of child growth and development. Some twenty years ago, Stevenson questioned "the belief that human personality is more plastic in infancy and childhood than in later years" (Stevenson, 1957, p. 152), but in 1957 Stevenson spoke, in large measure, as a lone voice. Since then calls for a re-evaluation of the importance of the early years have increased dramatically and a powerful lobby has developed of people who suggest that previously we may have tended to overestimate the importance of the early years and underestimate the human being's capacity for later change and development. Clarke and Clarke (1972) conclude forcefully that "the facts appear to demand modification of many dearly held clichés which, for example, state that the child is father to the man in the sense that early experience dictates a pre-determined course of development and makes or mars the child" (p. 51). Herbert (1974), similarly, suggests that "the fixity of the child's psychological attributes at a very tender age seems to have been exaggerated by some theoreticians" and claims that "early learning experiences do not appear to set the child an inevitable 'tramline route' to follow in his later development" (p. 90).

This controversy about the early years is obviously of major theoretical importance for the study of child development in general but, more specifically, it is relevant to our understanding of the nature, and treatment of, children's behaviour problems. Clarizio (1968) suggests that a fundamental issue underlying our approach to children's behaviour problems is the question of "whether childhood problems are transient or permanent in nature" and "whether a child (will) grow out of his problems with increasing age" (p. 288). Evidence from research (reviews of which are provided by Lewis, 1965; Glavin, 1967; Clarizio, 1968; Rutter and Madge, 1976; Clarke and Clarke, 1976; and Upton, 1978) certainly suggests some continuity and consistency in behaviour but equally it underlines the importance of variability and change. While it is apparent that a proportion of children display chronic, long lasting behaviour problems, this group of children is small and for the majority of children behaviour problems appear to represent no more than a phase in development. Thus the child who is seen as a severe problem in the comprehensive school may, or may not, have experienced similar difficulties in junior school and vice versa.

Such considerations have obvious implications for dealing with behaviour problems. In particular, the concept of early intervention is rendered somewhat suspect, for implicit in this concept is the assumption that behaviour problems are long term problems. If that small group of children for whom behaviour problems represent intractable difficulties could be identified early intervention could be beneficial. However, at the moment there appears to be no clear way of distinguishing such children from those for whom behaviour problems represent a passing phase. While, in retrospect, from the vantage point of the secondary school it is often easy to see continuity and clear evidence of earlier problems in an individual case, to predict which children from the many who show problems in the early school years will continue to display such problems is not possible.

Equally it would seem that, at present, the bulk of special provisions made for children with behaviour problems seems to assume that such problems are long term. Curently a large proportion of special provision involves long term day and residential placement. While such provision may be appropriate for children whose problems represent intractable patterns of behaviour, they are clearly not appropriate for children requiring shorter term or crisis intervention. For such children as might be included in this latter group more flexible provision within the ordinary school would seem to be appropriate so that problems can be met quickly and within the context of the child's normal environment.

CONCLUSION

In this paper an attempt has been made to examine some issues related to the nature and development of behaviour problems. It is the author's opinion that recent changes in our understanding of behaviour problems have shifted the locus of responsibility for the bulk of such problems away from the traditional therapeutic disciplines and moved it more directly into the community in general and the school in particular. Once we begin to see behaviour problems more in terms of problems in living than as disease entities then clearly such problems can be seen as the responsibility of those concerned with the general socialising process. Recent evidence on the extent to which schools do influence behaviour patterns would seem to emphasise the potential importance of the school's role in dealing with behaviour problems. This is not to say that some children do experience severe and deep-seated emotional problems that require specialist help. However, the number of children who fall into this category is relatively small and most of the behaviour problems experienced in the ordinary school would seem to be more appropriately dealt with within the situation in which they have arisen.

If such a re-orientation is to be accepted then it would seem that much rethinking will have to be done - a seemingly minor issue such as the terms that we use to describe such problems is of not inconsiderable importance as the words we use do reflect, and affect, the way we think about problems and more importantly the action we take in response to them. Furthermore, thus far, the bulk of the literature, research, assessment techniques and treatment ideas concerning children's behaviour problems has originated from within what might be termed the traditional therapeutic and associated academic community - i.e. psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists and social workers. Currently even much of the interest in the importance of the school in the development of behaviour problems is coming from the same sources. It would seem vital that teachers must begin to take a greater interest in this area and to begin to examine their own institutions from their own vantage point. At the moment there does seem to exist something akin to a colonial, patronising attitude towards teachers amongst the traditional therapeutic disciplines. Teachers in turn tend to be dismissive of the contribution that other disciplines make and to criticise their lack of awareness of what schools are really like and just how behaviour patterns do develop within the context of the schools environment and interfere with its functioning. Suggestions for intervention are similarly frequently dismissed out of hand by teachers as impractical.

If a more adequate conceptualisation of behaviour problems in schools is to be developed it would therefore seem that schools must begin to take a more active role in trying to understand behaviour problems and to develop, or adapt, intervention approaches that are compatible with the ethos of the ordinary school. To do nothing and to criticise others for stepping into the vacuum smacks of unprofessional apathy. It is the author's opinion that our current state of knowledge about children's behaviour problems is such that renders teacher initiative imperative. Hopefully this will not be long in appearing.

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SECTION II

CLASSROOM LIFE

TEACHERS' KNOWLEDGE OF BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS

David H. Hargreaves

The staff of a typical comprehensive school, when considered collectively, own several centuries of experience in dealing with difficult pupils and behaviour problems. How is it, then, that a university don can have anything useful to say to them on the matter? For it is clear that a group of teachers will know far more about these issues than I do. It is I who should be listening and the teachers who should be informing me.

That I should find myself in the position of presenting this paper is a puzzle which requires some explanation. Part of the puzzle finds its origins in our beliefs about 'experts' in education. From their earliest days as students, teachers are led to believe that their tutors and lecturers are experts in the various fields of knowledge and skill into which the students must be initiated. When these students later become experienced teachers, their initial deference for the 'experts' becomes transformed into ambivalence; they suspect that the experts do not know as much as they appear to claim to know, and in my view they are quite right to entertain these suspicions. Yet at the same time many teachers lack confidence in their own knowledge and skills and it is perhaps for that reason that some of them continue to listen to 'experts'.

I want to assert that teachers themselves not only know more than anyone else about behaviour problems but also know much more than they conventionally think they know. And the reason for this is quite simple. Teaching is a highly intuitive activity; much of the knowledge and skill of being a successful teacher is what Michael Polanyi has called tacit knowledge, or knowledge which is somehow silent because it cannot easily be put into words. Many of the skills of teaching are like the skills of riding a bicycle or driving a car. Once one can ride a bicycle, one experiences little difficulty in maintaining one's balance and controlling the steering etc. To the experienced rider it can be done almost without thinking about it. But it is much more difficult to explain to another person in detail and with clarity precisely how these complex tasks are accomplished. One can ride a bicycle, but one's knowledge and skill of so doing are greater than one can say in so many words. In consequence when one is attempting to teach someone else to ride a bicycle, the easiest way seems to be to put that person on a bicycle and give some helpful hints whilst our friend is struggling to learn for himself by trial and error.

Our capacity to handle behaviour problems seems to be of this order; the knowledge and skill can be effective, but it is difficult to state how and why in a clear and explicit way. It is perhaps for this reason

that it is so often claimed that disciplinary skills are a matter of 'personality'; and that, of course, explains little but merely conceals the tacit knowledge behind another mystifying concept. On the whole educational researchers have ignored the tacit knowledge possessed by experienced teachers. Instead they turn to the ideas and language of psychology and then try to convey this knowledge, which is explicit rather than tacit, to the teaching profession. On the whole teachers treat these psychological formulations as alien; the language of psychology is one they happily leave behind them at the college gates when they finish their formal training. Instead, they learn from their own experience. It is a normal and natural thing to do; the problem is that the knowledge and skill they then acquire is essentially tacit. They are condemned to knowing more than they can say; they reject the language of the social sciences but lack a conceptually refined language of their own to act as a substitute.

There is another dimension to this problem and this is the autonomy so prized by most teachers. This autonomy consists not merely in the freedom to make important decisions for oneself but in the tendency of teachers to work alone in classrooms, carefully protected from observation by one's colleagues. In their classrooms teachers work as isolated professionals; teaching is a highly social and public activity, but in the private world of the classroom it is only the pupils who constitute that public. We should also note that the criteria of professional success and failure in teaching are curiously diffuse and intangible. It is persistently difficult to be sure whether or not one is really succeeding. In this respect teaching is not like the professional work of lawyers, architects and doctors. Lawyers quite evidently win or lose cases; and the buildings of architects sometimes fall down. The feedback on professional competence (or lack of it) is unambiguous; praise and blame can be justly apportioned. This is not so with teachers; they remain unsure and anxious about the effects they have on their pupils, either for good or ill. Doctors can bury their mistakes; teachers are more likely to be buried by theirs.

And so the life of a teacher is one or working in professional isolation from colleagues and of being uncertain of the extent to which one is succeeding or failing. At the same time it is a motto of the teaching profession that 'successful teachers do not have problems'. Failure, or even a sense of failure, tend to be hidden wherever possible. The insulation from observation of the classroom teacher facilitates this concealment. There is much talk in staffrooms about difficult pupils, yet relatively little of this consists of the open and frank admission of a teacher's worries, fears and problems. Staff talk is more likely to take the form of gossip, and this gossip is about the difficult pupils whom everyone is known to find a behaviour problem. When everyone agrees that a pupil is difficult, then staffroom talk about this pupil is not a betrayal of one's own inadequacies, but an appeal for consolation and commiseration which is usually forthcoming from sympathetic colleagues. But a teacher who is experiencing problems with a pupil who has no such reputation in the staffroom diplomatically keeps his grumbles to himself; he cannot afford to admit failure or incompetence which appear to be uniquely his, for that would be to betray serious and unique professional shortcomings.

When I first began teaching I shared a flat with two colleagues. One of us was clearly having many more discipline problems than the other two. In the evenings he would say casually over our evening meal, 'Today, I thought of a very interesting possibility. It's purely hypothetical, of course. But what would you do if you went into your class and all the boys were lying on the shelves of the store cupboard and refused to come out?' 'Well,' we would reply, 'what a very interesting hypothetical problem,' and then offer some possible solutions. We played the game as best we could in the knowledge that to refuse to play the game would be an affront to our friend's deeply threatened professional self-esteem. He may have had classroom problems; but he was learning fast how to maintain a professional identity with colleagues.

The professional culture of teachers, then, tends to ensure that the skills of dealing with problem pupils are (or are not) picked up in isolation and take the form of tacit knowledge, and the way in which teachers relate to one another conspires to keep this tacit knowledge in its tacit form. It remains inexplicit, unstated and unshared. Those centuries of knowledge possessed by a comprehensive school staff remain tightly locked in the heads of the individual teachers. My task is to try to show how this tacit knowldege can be made explicit and to make some suggestions how, when it is made explicit, it can be shared between colleagues. I recognize the danger in making the tacit more explicity. One recalls the proverbial centipede who, when asked how he managed to co-ordinate his legs when running, instantly fell over. Do tacit skills by their very nature have to remain tacit? But as the wise Professor Marie Jahoda used to say, it is always possible that in asking the question of the centipede we might make it possible for him to run a hundred miles an hour.

So let us begin our task of trying to 'de-intuit' the tacit knowledge of teachers. The emphasis will be on the preventive skills of teaching, by which behaviour problems are inhibited from emerging, rather than on remedial skills, which treat the behaviour problems after they have appeared. The American researcher Jacob Kounin(1970) found that some of his earliest attempts to relate the details of teacher behaviour to the extent of pupil misconduct in the classroom proved to be surprisingly unfruitful; but he then realized that he had been unable to see the wood for the trees. He had initially been so absorbed in the minutiae of teacher behaviour that he had failed to notice the significance of the larger units or episodes of teacher-pupil interaction. These episodes, as we shall see, are perfectly meaningful to classroom teachers once they have been isolated from the complex tangle of events that comprise the busyness of classroom life. But teachers have no names for them, simply because they are a feature of the taken-for-granted, intuitive knowledge of class management. Kounin gives them attractive, non-technical names. We shall examine just two: 'flip-flops' and 'dangles'.

A flip-flop occurs when the teacher concludes activity A, begins activity B, but then returns to activity A. For example, a teacher tells the pupils to put away their spelling books, and to take out their arithmetic books for the next activity (the 'flip'); when the children have done this, the teacher asks all those who got all the spelling right to

put up their hands (the 'flop'). Once one has acquired the idea of a fliplflop, it is very easy to spot their surprisingly common occurrence in classrooms. A dangle occurs when a teacher begins an activity, then leaves it floating in mid-air whilst dealing with some other matter, and finally resumes the activity. For example, a teacher might begin the lesson by asking Mary to answer the first problem. She then notices that John is absent from the lesson, and says, 'Where's John? Does anyone know where John is?' An investigation into John's whereabouts ensues and finally when the teacher is satisfied on the matter, says, 'OK, now where were we? Oh, yes; Mary, you take the first question'. Again, all teachers commit dangles from time to time, but some more frequently than others; once named, however, they become easy to recognise, in ourself or in others.

When Kounin counted the numbers of flip-flops and dangles in a lesson he found that they did relate to the amount of general misconduct in the lesson: the more the teacher flip-flopped and dangled, the greater the amount of misconduct and the lower the extent of work involvement. By an unintentional class management failure, the teacher was actively contr-buting to the emergence of misbehaviour. Once these management skills have been identified and named, extracted from the silence of tacit know-ledge, a teacher can exercise direct control over them and reduce their frequency.

Kounin's work relates in an interesting way to the studies that I and my colleagues (Hargreaves et al., 1975) were making of classroom life in secondary schools. Our initial interest had been in nature of class-room rules. Teachers can speak very readily of the rules that control pupil conduct in their classroom, but our observations suggested that these rules seemed to be more complex than was normally conceded. For all the rules are not in operation all the time; rather, classroom rules come in and out of play, as it were, in different activities or phases of the lesson. For example, in classrooms there are rules about pupil talk - when they should or should not talk, who should talk, what should be talked about, and so on. Thus when the teacher is giving an exposit-ion at the beginning of a lesson, the pupils should pay attention and be silent. When the pupils are doing project or group work, by contrast, the pupils are allowed to talk to one another, but the talk is supposed to be relevant to the work. Within any one lesson there are usually several activities or phases which follow in a sequence. Each activity or phase carries its own set of distinctive rules. However, when the activity of phase changes, the teacher does not usually announce that the rules are changing too; that is something the pupils are expected to know. How, then, does the teacher change the lesson phases - and the rules that go with them?

The answer is largely by the use of one word and that word is 'right'. We discovered that most lessons in secondary schools have five phases: the entry phase; the 'settling down' phase; the main lesson, which has several smaller phases within it (teacher exposition, question and answer session, group work, writing, etc.); the 'clearing up' phase; and finally the exit phase. At each transition point, the teacher would change the phase by the use of the word 'right'.

Right, come in now, 3B (entry phase).

Right, get you books out and settle down (settling down phase).

Right, now today we're going to ... (main lesson).

Right now, pass your workbooks to the front (clearing up phase).

Right, off you go, front row first (exit phase).

The use of the word 'right' acted as a signal - we called it a 'switch-signal' - to alert the pupils' attention and to indicate that an activity (and rule) change was about to be made. We did come across one teacher who at the key transition points said nothing but the word 'right' to do all this work. 'Right!' he would call, and the pupils would file in; 'right!' and the pupils would get their books out, and so on, all the way through to the end of the lesson when his final 'right!' would send the pupils streaming through the door to their next lessons. It was a remarkable feat.

The question is: who taught teachers to say 'right'? The answer, of course, is that no-one did; they simply picked it up for themselves; it is part of their intuitive knowledge of how to manage classroom life; indeed, they are hardly aware of the frequency with which the word is uttered. I once gave a lecture on this theme to some students in a College of Education and a student ruefully told me how her tutor had told her not to say 'right' so often, because it was boring. Could this have been a case of a well-meaning tutor actually undermining a student's intuitive acquisition of a basic skill of class management?

Switch-signalling is a remarkably subtle skill. It frequently happens that teachers start an activity but then find that something is going wrong and needs correction. For example, the pupils are told 'Right, now start the writing in you exercise books,' and the writing phase begins. But then the teacher discovers that the pupils are not underlining the headings as they should. She wants to intervene in the activity or phase, in order to issue a corrective statement, but wants the momentum of the activity to be maintained. If she calls 'Right!' there is the real risk that the pupils will interpret this as a switch-signal which is going to end the phase and begin a new one. To avoid this, the teacher almost always refines her words by a reference to time. 'Right, just a moment, 3B...' she will say, and then offers her correction. The 'just a moment' is crucial, for it demonstrates to the pupils that the phase is being temporarily suspended, not closed. Any observer can see this. When the 'just a moment' is present, the pupils hold onto their pens and merely look up. When it is omitted, the pupils put down their pens in anticipation of a phase shift.

When switch-signalling is executed skillfully, the phases are clearly articulated. Pupils know what phase they are in, and the rules which control that activity. When it is done badly, neither the activity nor its rules are very clear, so it is not surprising that misconduct tends to arise. Some classroom misbehaviour occurs simply because the rules are obscure, and it is only the teacher who can clarify here. The moral is that teachers should teach rules not in the abstract but as phasebound

and then must switch-signal clearly and effectively in relation to those phases. Most teachers do it 'naturally'; others have picked up bad habits and only when we have formed names for this tacit knowledge can we begin to specify the errors and find ways of eliminating them.

That the fine detail of teachers' words really matters has been suggested in an interesting if somewhat speculative analysis by Torode (1976). Consider these three statements by a teacher who is known to have few behaviour problems in his class.

> When we do compositions, we don't have any talking at all, I hope that is clear.
> Somebody talking. You know what will happen. No five minute break.
> Right, everybody should be sitting in their own seats.
> As a general rule,we'll have no roaming around, because that's not a very good idea. And there'll be a lesson for those who forget.

These utterances conjure up a picture of a very traditional middle-aged teacher; there is a firm no-nonsense control of classroom life. Is there anything striking or odd about the precise words used?

Torode draws our attention to a rather unusual use of the word 'we'. In the first statement it is, strictly speaking, not 'we' but the pupils who are doing the composition, and it is not 'we' but the teacher himself who is insisting that there shall be no talking at all. Torode suggests that this odd use of 'we' helps the teacher to present the rules as somehow existing independently of both teacher and pupils, as an external and inevitable reality imposing itself on all. The rules appear in an impersonal guise, the teacher merely clarifying them ('I hope that is clear') and enforcing them where necessary whilst nevertheless not appearing as the author of them. This becomes clearer as we remove the 'we' phrasing and translate them into an alternative form which stresses the teacher as author of the rules and the pupils as constrained by his rules.

> When you do compositions, I don't allow any talking, I hope that is clear.

It is immediately obvious that the language has become more personal and more confrontational. The teacher's authority is being imposed in the form of one person against others and the teacher's assumption of conflict between the two parties is quite explicit. We cannot be sure that this teacher's particular choice of words represents a real tacit skill which inhibits behaviour problems from the pupils; but I find it hard to believe that it is entirely irrelevant.

Words are obviously not the only element in classroom management and disciplinary skill. Recently I was following a single class of pupils, held generally by the staff to be a 'problem' class, for all their lessons during the school day. This is always a salutary exercise for it impresses upon the observer the surprising variations in pupil conduct from lesson to lesson. My concern was to try to discover the skills being exercised by those teachers who had fewest problems with the class. I began to note that the first five minutes seemed to play a significant role in the subsequent development of pupil behaviour in the lesson; the opening atmosphere set the tone of the rest of the lesson. One teacher who had very little trouble with the class became of special interest to me and I watched the way he began the lesson with particular care. I soon noticed -

and if I had had the eyes to see it, it was obvious from the first - that when the pupils entered his classroom they followed their normal routine of going to their seats, whilst a few would stop at the front to have a word with the teacher, but also that this teacher handled these events in a unique way. Most teachers dealt with the pupil who stopped to talk en route to his place in the ordinary decent way; they looked at the pupil, listened attentively to what he had to say, and then responded in a brief way with appropriate advice or comment. But this teacher did not do the normal, decent thing. He listened, certainly; but he never looked at the pupil at all. The pupil would approach him, with a polite 'Sir?' The teacher remained standing, looking steadfastly out towards the classroom into which the pupils slowly ambled. After a moment and without a word, he would cock his head sideways. At this signal, the pupil would say whatever he had to say. The teacher listened, and then responded; but he never took his eye off the rest of the pupils. And they knew that they were being constantly observed, as their quick glances in his direction betrayed. His visual channel was doing one piece of work; his auditory channel another. The pupils settled down quickly. Moreover this teacher reinforced this quiet beginning to the lesson by calling for absolute silence before giving the instructions for the first part of the lesson. In this respect he was unlike a surprising number of his colleagues who would start the lesson over a low babble of chatter and who were then overwhelmed with demands for explanation and with complaints that the pupils did not know what to do.

Like many skilled teachers, this man intuitively understood the importance of non-verbal preventive skills in classroom management. When I asked him for his explanation of why his lesson passed with fewer disturbances than those of his colleagues, he genuinely could not say. When I told him of the explanation I offered, he merely said that he supposed he had been doing this for years; it was 'second nature' to him. Non-verbal skills of control are of particular importance because neither the lesson nor the pupils are in any way disturbed or distracted by their exercise. Most teachers are familiar with the effectiveness of 'prowling' towards an area of disturbance, in the knowledge that the mere physical presence of the teacher can inhibit misconduct. They know that the manual turning of a pupils' head in the direction of the front can be more efficient than a verbal command to pay attention. Even the long stare at an offending pupil - especially in an intentional silence created in the middle of a sentence - is a common enough teacher trick. But what does surprise me in my observations in schools in how relatively little these skills are used; some teachers use them so sparingly that it might reasonably be called neglect. Only Jocob Kounin with his concept of 'withitness' comes close to naming these skills. He has drawn attention to power that pupils attribute to the teacher who can call a pupil to order whilst appearing to be looking in the opposite direction. Teachers do not have eyes in the backs of their heads; but it is not difficult to make pupils believe that they do.

Even some of the most common disciplinary techniques have very crude names in conventional teacher talk which mask the range and subtlety of the technique involved. Take for instance the common method of sending a pupil out of the room. At first sight it appears to be a very simple,

unitary technique and one which for obvious reasons has to be used sparingly. Fritz Redl, however, has helped us by naming some of the variant forms of this technique. The basic form is what he calls 'punitive exile'. This is a neat description; the child is being cast into exile in the corridor as a punishment for his misbehaviour. It is, in this form, a dangerous technique, since the offending pupil may well respond by then making faces at the rest of the class through the corridor window, thus turning the intended punishment into an opportunity for further disruptive behaviour. Redl notes that there are other variants of the technique. One he calls 'non-punitive exile'. Here the pupil is being exiled, but not as a punishment. Instead the pupil is being allowed a few moments 'time out' in which he can recover himself. When the teacher's motive for the exile is apparent to the pupil, the pupil's reaction to the exile may vary accordingly. Another form is what Redl calls 'antiseptic bouncing'. Sometimes the teacher has to act as a 'bouncer', casting a pupil out in order to prevent damage occuring or the misconduct spreading like a disease to other pupils. I wonder how many common methods of control also have a number of variant forms; we need to analyse them carefully, name them, and then learn about their relative effectiveness in various situations.

To analyse them, we must first observe them, either in ourselves or others. Here lies a major difficulty: teachers are for the most part simply too busy, too caught up in the urgent immediacy of classroom events within a tightly scheduled day to be able to spend much time in the analysis of the minutiae of their classroom practices; and for reasons we noted earlier they have little opportunity to observe their colleagues in any sustained or systematic way. One of the privileges of my job is that some teachers are generous enough to let me watch them at work. Not long ago I was observing a boy who had become labelled (and not without justification) as a disruptive pupil. One of my plans was to investigate how his disruption began, so that I could track the course of his disturbances. Although this was the focus of my work I found myself following the pattern set by the teacher; I would watch him for a while and then because he was working quietly I would become distracted by other more interesting events taking place in the classroom. Then he would suddenly come to my attention, as he came to the class teacher's,when he was in midflight of what we took to be one of his disruptive episodes.

More disciplined observation on my part brought some surprises. In fact most of the disruptive behaviour was not actually initiated by him. Typically he would be working quietly and then one or two pupils (usually in close proximity) would become slightly distracted from their work. For example, one pupil would begin to chew gum and a neighbour would ask for some. A refusal would bring the accusation of being 'tight' and a slanging match would ensue. All this would take place quietly, but the disruptive pupil would sense a potential distraction and would actively join in, even if this meant leaving his place. The 'miniature disturbance centre' would act like a whirlpool, sucking him ineluctably towards its centre. Once he was there, his own conduct served to escalate the misconduct until the teacher's attention was attracted by the noise. He or she, noting the 'disruptive' pupil at its heart, would take remedial action, usually making him rather than others a target of control measures. The

rest would quickly fall back into line and resume their work. He, however, was on a 'high' of enjoyable misconduct and could not readily give up his misconduct. This seemed to confirm to the teacher that he was the cause of the trouble, though strictly speaking he had only escalated it, not caused it. This pupil, then, had a very low threshold for involvement in misbehaviour; but a very high threshold for withdrawal from misconduct. Only through sustained observation could this be detected; and this the teacher simply could not afford. As a result, the teachers were denied a full understanding of the disruptive pupil's problems. Every event seemed to confirm his reputation as a trouble-maker, whilst offering no further insight into the nature of the problem or how it might be handled.

A reputation as a 'behaviour problem' is easily acquired by a pupil and I fear we make too few efforts at ensuring that pupils do not reach this stage. Yet we know that once they do, they have a clear role which has its own rewards and its own impetus; like professional criminals they become trapped into habits and self-conceptions which are very difficult to break or reshape. When some colleagues and myself (Hargreaves, Hestor and Mellor,1975) were examining the first few weeks of pupils' experience of their secondary schools, we noted that teachers have a concept to describe the process by which certain pupils come to their early notice. Teachers call this 'standing out'. 'Do you know Jean Smith?' we would ask. 'No', the teacher would reply, 'she hasn't stood out yet'. Pupils stand out for various things, but one reason is that they have an elder sibling in the school. This type of standing out takes two forms. First, a pupil physically resembles the older sibling. 'Ah', says the teacher to an unknown pupil, 'you must be the brother of Thompson in 3B'. When the pupil assents, the teacher says, 'Yes, I could recognize that bulbous nose anywhere'. Second, the name alone triggers the recognition. The pupil who announces that his name in Muffington-Smee alerts the teacher that he must be a brother of the girl in 3A. Now teachers believe (and not without some justification) that behaviour tendencies run in a family pattern. Once it is known that a pupil has an elder sibling, the teacher assumes, until there is evidence to the contrary, that the pupil will be like the elder sibling. Indeed, teachers often mention this explicitly at the time. 'Well, if you do as well as your sister here you'll be a credit to the school', or if the elder sibling is a known troublemaker, 'Another Muffington-Smee, eh? Well, I shall have to keep an eye on you, won't I, if your brother's anything to go by'.

A natural enough reaction, certainly, especially when, as is so often the case, the remark is made light-heartedly and in full knowledge of the dangers of premature labelling. But there is a hidden trap which teachers do not always notice, though it is there for all (especially a researcher) to see. Let us suppose that the elder sibling is a good pupil. If the new pupil then behaves well, this is a direct confirmation of the family pattern theory. If the pupil behaves badly, however, is this a disconfirmation of the theory? No, it is not. Teachers also know that some pupils have a few temporary initial problems after their transfer to secondary school. These are known as 'settling down' problems which will soon disappear. Here, then, is a ready explanation of the pupil's misconduct, an explanation which does not challenge the family pattern theory and which assumes that the pupil is 'really' good despite having temporary settling down problems. But suppose the elder sibling is a disruptive

pupil. If the pupil behaves badly, this seems to confirm the family pattern theory? Again it does not. For the teacher can continue to assume that the pupil is 'really' a trouble-maker who is not, for the moment, showing his true colours. The teacher can remain suspicious of the good conduct and when trouble appears take this as confirmation that the family pattern is finally showing itself. Does the family pattern theory owe its validity to the fact that as teachers we help to make it come true through self-fulfilling prophecies? I do not know, though I suspect it may. I am quite sure, however, that a pupil who had an elder sibling who is a known behaviour problem starts his school life at a distinct disadvantage. The pupils know this and will tell you so. But teachers rarely want to listen to this message.

Pupils often know much more about misconduct than we allow. Teachers are sometimes ready to attribute misbehaviour to 'silliness' or 'immaturity' or 'cussedness' or even to 'a disturbed personality'. The danger is that these explanations can overlook the fact that some pupil misconduct is highly rational; it has reasons and is committed for a purpose, rather than being mechanically caused by alleged psychological or sociological defects and deficiencies. In an important American study Carl Werthman (1963) examined the problem of why some students in high school behave badly in some lessons but not in others. If teachers are asked to explain this phenomenon, they tend to claim that it is because some teachers are simply better at classroom management and control than others, or that sometimes pupils take a dislike to a subject or teacher and so misbehave. These are probably reasonable accounts on many occasions, but it is not the explanation which Werthman puts forward. His investigation shows that delinquent pupils do not, as many ordinary pupils do, automatically grant the teacher legitimate authority in the classroom. Rather, they set rules which a teacher must meet if he or she is to be granted authority. A teacher must not comment on race, dress and appearance; a teacher must grade fairly; a teacher must not use the commanding style of the bullying army sergeant. If the teacher breaks these pupil-imposed rules, then the pupils deny him any authority, and they intentionally and systematically set about destroying that teacher's authority in a host of different ways. From the pupil point of view the teacher is simply not playing the game of school by fair rules, so they refuse to play. In our age, authority cannot be assumed by a teacher as a right; it has to be earned and negotiated. Some teachers find this very hard to accept; it is they who cannot see that misconduct cna have a rational basis. In a similar way Alex Sharp of the University of Edinburgh has shown that pupils may intentionally refuse to do work, not because they wish to defy the teacher, but because they are deeply afraid they will not succeed and cannot tolerate the sense of failure. In these circumstances it is perfectly rational to refuse to work, because the stigma of poor marks and teacher ire become bearable as long as one can tell oneself that one is failing not because one is stupid, but because one never really tried. It is the last resort of a badly endangered self-esteem; but how often do teachers have the time to observe their pupils in sufficient detail <u>in the classroom setting</u> to see what Alex Sharp saw?

This chapter will, I hope, convince teachers that they know much

more than they sometimes think they know and certainly more than they can say in so many words. I hope too to encourage their scepticism of experts, though in this case I may be preaching to the converted. But a suspicion of expert solutions from the outside does not in itself ensure a confidence that more solutions can be found from within. I fear that I detect in the teaching profession a desperate search for new, neat and practical solutions, or even ideas about, the growing behaviour problems in our secondary schools. A search grounded in desperation and lack of confidence can only lead to a wild grasping at straws. I know too many teachers who read Rutter's Fifteen Thousand Hours (1979) only to conclude that if they spend less time in giving out equipment, spend more time teaching the class as a whole, name pupils for good work in assembly, decorate the classroom walls and use less corporal punishment, then pupil behaviour will improve dramatically. Perhaps it would; but we cannot say with confidence that it will on the basis of present research knowledge. The same caution must be applied to the ideas and techniques suggested in this chapter. As I noted at the end of Deviance in Classrooms, there is the possibility that what really matters may be not the specific techniques a teacher uses but the teacher's philosophy or basic assumptions about children and about education. That, too, is no more than a hypothesis or an informed guess. At the present time we simply do not know the relative importance of, or even the nature of the relationship between, management and control techniques or specific teacher behaviours on the one hand, and teachers' basic philosophies and school ethos on the other hand.

Nothing will be lost and much may be gained, I believe, if we devote some of our efforts to making our tacit knowledge of class management and control more explicit and then to sharing that explicit knowledge more widely between colleagues. To this end I conclude with five practical suggestions.

First we should not pretend that elaborate systems of pastoral care will solve many behaviour problems. If we appoint specific teachers to take over the pastoral and disciplinary duties that were once part of every teacher's work (at least in good schools), we may do very little to reduce the extent of behaviour problems in the ordinary teacher's classroom. For even when the pastoral system is then recognized to be failing, we assume that some change in the system is needed rather than that the system simply cannot serve the need. We have lessons to learn from the failure of Her Majesty's prisons to reform and rehabilitate the inmates.

Second, we must use every effort to get teachers to work together more closely and more co-operatively so that they overcome some of the shortcomings of our traditional emphasis on teacher autonomy and isolation in the classroom. I know of many schools where disruptive children are sent by the headteacher to the educational psychologist on the grounds that no teacher in the school can handle him or her. But this is, in my experience, almost never true. There is in fact almost always one teacher who can handle that pupil fairly well, but this teacher's presence remains undetected for the simple reason that just as teachers cannot confess their personal failures for fear of betraying professional incompetence, the successful teacher cannot announce his success for fear of being accused of professional boasting. It is success as well as failure that teachers must share more overtly and innovations which encourage

co-operation and mutual trust, such as team-teaching, must be seen in this light.

Third, teachers should and could observe one another more, and as much to detect and analyse success as well as to help with obvious problems and failures. The discussion of problem pupils in the safety of a case conference outside the classrooms where most of the behaviour problems occur simply does not go far enough. Mutual observation is most easily achieved where team-teaching has been established. But the pattern must be set by the most senior teachers. The headteacher will not break down the fear of observation by telling his staff that he approves of mutual observation. The head and the most senior teachers must encourage others to come into their own lessons to observe and then to discuss what they have observed. If they take the lead in deed not just in word, then others will probably follow.

Fourth, we can try to turn the consolatory gossip of the staffroom into constructive exchanges of experiences, as already happens in some schools. Here again, the senior staff can take the lead by confessing that they have problems (as many of them do) and by being willing to listen to other points of view. If the senior staff are seen to be learning then more junior colleagues will feel much less anxious to hide their problems from their staffroom colleagues.

Fifth, new and probationer teachers must be given special attention and help. It is very naive of the headteacher or the senior teacher to advise newcomers to the staff that if they have any problems they should not hesitate to call for help. In practice many young teachers do need help, but dare not ask for it lest they be thought to be incompetent; they take the not unreasonable view that to confess their problems is to jeopardise their professional future. Some former students tell my how lonely and helpless they felt in schools where their senior colleagues appeared as self-confident know-alls who believed that every teacher worth his salt must learn to sink or swim on his own resources. Others report how much they were helped when they were welcomed into a school where problems were seen to be common and shared by all and where senior colleagues made it clear that they were still learning and changing and that every new member of the team was a potential contributor to the good of the whole. For is it not a curious admixture of elation and despair, of confidence and insecurity, of success and failure, of forging ahead and standing still to take stock, that constitutes the true art of teaching and taking charge of young people in a rapidly changing society?

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TRAINING TEACHERS IN CLASS MANAGEMENT

Ted Wragg

As part of the DES funded Teacher Education Project at the Universities of Nottingham, Leicester and Exeter, we have been looking at class management and control; what teachers regard as deviant behaviour, how they deal with it, and what trainee teachers can do to improve their classroom skills.

The ideas I put forward are drawn from what I see happening in society, from a year I spent working as a specialist adviser to a Parliamentary Select Committee looking at the attainments of school leavers, from my own and other people's research into classroon processes, and from my own classroom experiences teaching on a regular basis in various schools, and supervising students.

During the Parliamentary Select Committee one of the messages that came through to us from all the evidence we were getting is that the level of skill needed now by school leavers is higher than has ever been the case before. When you look at the four or five thousand jobs that often disappear when big industrial concerns redevelop, most of them will be in the unskilled or barely skilled category. In other words, all those people who simply twisted something and pushed it onto the next person now find that that process has been automated, that micro-processors have taken over and that the work that was done previously by a large labour force is now going to be in the hands of a small group of highly schooled technocrats, a number of skilled and semi-skilled people, a sizeable force of bureaucrats who will undertake stock control, ordering, despatching and so on, and a tiny handful of unskilled people who will do the small numbers of unskilled jobs that there will always be, so far as we can see. Certainly the major casualties in all this will be the people who are in unskilled or barely skilled occupations, and in almost all jobs, as in adult life generally, more skill is needed.

If you take a shop steward, for example, who used to negotiate entirely orally and analyse what he has to do today, and I am talking about what is often the substantial part of his job, rather than the aspect that occasionally gets into the newspapers, he must take first responsibility for interpreting industrial legislation for his work mates. If someone thinks he has a case for unfair dismissal, if there is an accident at work, then very often it is the shop steward who is in the front line interpreting legislation frequently written in very complex language.

A similar complexity is to be found in home and family life, or life in a community. There are many things people have to do now that they did not have to do before.

It is, therefore, very important that we achieve as much as possible with children during their eleven compulsory years of schooling, and teachers need substantial skills to ensure that children apply themselves to the tasks in hand. One operational definition of motivation might be the amount of time, and degree of arousal that children bring to their task in school. If the amount of time they are spending on tasks is low because the teacher cannot handle the class properly and the degree of arousal is low because the task is uninteresting or beyond them, inappropriate or whatever, children are not operationally motivated, they are not deriving greatest benefit from their time in school.

If you look at classroom interaction studies, and there have been a number of investigations during the last ten or fifteen years, you can see that certain findings are of relevance. The first one is that life in classrooms is very busy. Phillip Jackson in the United States did a study where he looked at teachers in elementary schools and he found that some teachers engaged in as many as 1,000 interpersonal transactions in a day - little exchanges between two human beings. A thousand a day means 5,000 a week, 200,000 a year, many millions in a professional working life time. Other jobs are not quite as busy as that, or else they are only sporadically as intense, say in a shop on Saturday in a sale period, but Monday in the same store will be so quiet that there will be sales training for the staff, simply because there will be few customers around. Those teachers who have the kind of pattern that has them engaging in 1,000 or more interpersonal transactions a day, probably have the same pattern on Monday morning as on Friday afternoon. They cannot suspend it and have a quiet season. That is the style of their classroom lives, and that is the second common finding in classrooms. By and large teaching patterns, once one has observed people for some time, are fairly predictable. In other words, once people have established habits they tend to keep them.

It becomes difficult to change, partly because of the expectancies of the children, who now know that the teacher is 'hard' or 'soft', and what the rules are, however those have been established. It is also difficult for the teacher to change his pattern, and that is why many of those curriculum packages which presupposed a radical change in teaching tactics, like Nuffield Science which required an enquiry method, the Stenhouse humanities which necessitated the teacher playing a neutral chairman role during discussion of frequently contentious issues, or foreign language courses which assumed much more oral use of the foreign language in the classroom than previously, were so very difficult for teachers to implement, because they required such a radical shift in teaching tactics. It is extremely difficult for a young teacher with discipline problems to renegotiate all those rules that were inadequately laid down in the first instance.

This brings me to the work that we have been doing in class management and control as part of the Teacher Education Project. When we began we found very little work extant on class management and control generally. It tends to be a neglected area and one can see why. As a research and development project it is a total loser. No matter what set of formul-

ations you improvise, you will never please the, 'never lay a finger on him or you will ruin his life' brigade, and the 'get them by the throat and nail them to the floor' squad. Secondly, it has become a political issue, caricatured in the press and at conferences to make it seem that one political party is especially keen on orderliness in school and another political party is not. Most teachers do not see it as a political but rather as an educational issue, and I see it entirely in educational terms as helping teachers acquire those skills that they will need to help children to learn in school.

We began in 1976 with detailed case studies of 56 student teachers, taking 28 student teachers said to be good at handling classes and 28 said to be poor, and we used both our own tutors, some in other establishments and teachers in schools to do case studies of these students using a semistructured schedule. Before we undertook the case studies we found that people often conceptualised classroom life in terms that were too vague for one to be able to extract information useful for training teachers. Teachers talked about 'having a grip', or keeping children 'busy', so we decided to ask each observer to look for and describe three critical events that happened in a particular lesson, and to choose events that were demonstrative of the person's skill or lack of it at handling children in difficult situations. We also asked the observer to interview the teacher concerned to get his interpretation of events.

Pairs of analysts then read through the case studies,working separately on the same assignment, for example reading through the critical events and pulling out descriptions that seemed to be indicative of something important to do with successful handling of a class. They would do their analysis separately and then they would compare their findings.

We found, as other investigators often have, lack of agreement amongst people in the profession about what constitutes effective teaching. One observer would describe an event and say this is typical of the teacher's good handling of a class, another would describe a very similar event and label it typical of the teacher's poor handling of the class. One class was observed reading a passage from Grahame Green, which the student teacher regarded as a good piece of writing. A boy in the class thought it was rubbish. The teacher asked "Why is it rubbish?", and the boy replied "because you would not say that kind of thing", "Well, what would you say?" rejoined the teacher. "Now-a-days you would not use language like that, you would talk about 'that funky music from across the road', so what he has written is rubbish", replied the boy. The teacher said "That's the sort of remark I would expect from someone who gets as low marks as you do". Now the comment of the observer, a teacher supervising the student in the school, was, "What I like about this chap is that every time one of these clever Dicks tries it on, he squashes him". Another observer might have deplored the student's insensitive handling of a pupil.

Thus we must expect differences in perception about how classes should be handled, many of which are substantial and irreconcilable. Some groups of teachers are so far apart that they will not be able to

agree on a common way of operating, and there was one study of team teaching in Greenwich in Connecticut by John Herbert a few years ago, where he studied the styles of teachers engaged in team teaching, finding that those teams that broke up contained teachers who had different styles. Teachers who were in agreement about style sustained themselves.

In the second phase of the project in 1977/78 we used the case study experience and devised a systematic observation schedule to analyse over 1000 three minute segments of lessons as well as conducting individual pupil studies. We went round each individual pupil in a class studying his behaviour, whether he was on task or not, whether he was being deviant or not, and what the teacher did about it. We built up gradually a profile of the class and how involved it was in the task. 'Time on task', 'academic engaged time', 'academic learning time', or didactic time' as it is variously called is only a crude measure, what one might call level one. Level two asks if the task is worthwhile, for it might be copying out telephone directories. Level three would be whether pupils were learning, as the task may indeed be worthwhile but no-one might be learning from it. We found quite a deal of very mild deviancy in lessons, but most of it was noisy gossip. It is tempting to believe that in student teachers' classrooms there is massive disruption and massive, punitive counteraction from the teacher, but our experience was different. Insults to the teacher, physical aggression to another pupil occurred in only one percent or so of all segments, and teachers administered punishment in only one percent of the segments, though they threatened punishment in five percent. The schools were all comprehensives in the Midlands, not the toughest schools one could find, nor the easiest places for novices.

Currently we are studying first encounters between pupils and teachers. We have interviewed several students and experienced teachers, and we expect to watch them at the beginning of the next academic year. In most schools people tend to say "Give us a week or two to settle down", and in that crucial week or two the ground rules are established, either explicitly or by children making inferences about what they may and may not do in a particular teacher's lesson.

Much of what we have been recording is translated into action. I mentioned earlier that people tend to disagree with each other about effective teaching, and secondly, that teaching is a very busy life and that people often have fairly fixed habits and therefore find it difficult to change. Our principle in training, therefore, is first of all, not to peddle any particular line, say behaviour modification, because many people may feel a sense of revulsion about overt and deliberate control of children's behaviour. Secondly we take into account that because people have to make their own decisions, part of the task is learning to look. Teachers learn to use their eyes in the classroom, because there are millions of pieces of information that the human brain must process in a split second, hundreds of messages which must be read before a teacher can make a decision, and it is really astonishing that teachers are able to reach decisions in such a short-time.

Student teachers often want a single answer, and they become very irritated, both with ourselves as trainers and with teachers in school when they ask "What do you do if?" and the teacher or the tutor replies "Well it depends". The experienced person knows that you will be scanning a vast reservoir of information first before taking action, but the student teacher needs reassuring certainties which cannot be given.

For the last two years we have trialled training booklets on Class Management and Control, which are based on our research findings. In the first section there are semantic differential type exercises where people try and work out their own views of handling classes. They have to think of teachers they knew whom they admired for the way they handled children and they must conceive dimensions that seem to describe this. Thus, they might produce polar-opposites like 'strict/permissive', 'interesting/boring', or whatever, and then assemble their own concepts of teaching as with a repertory grid. They then rate their ideal teacher and their guesses about themselves so they see how much they match up to and how different they are going to be from their own ideal. In another exercise, called "a question of context", background factors are produced which will affect decision making. Here is one example:- "A student teacher new to his teaching practice school suddenly finds David, a pupil he does not know very well, walking across the front of the room between himself and the group of pupils he is addressing. He is a little taken aback at the intrusion of this stranger, and is not certain how to react". There follows about a dozen context elements, like for example "the school is open plan and freedom of movement is permitted, even encouraged", or "David is a regular trouble maker and often tries to needle people, especially students", or "David's father is seriously ill in hospital", or "the head has sent David round the school with a message", or "David is six feet tall and a black belt at Karate", or "David is very small for his age and said by his mother to be extremely nervous, he is sometimes too frightened to come to school", or "David is West Indian", or "it is a Science lesson and the teacher is demonstrating a dangerous experiment" or "the class laughs uproariously", or "the class goes completely silent". One could invent a thousand similar contexts knowing that what distinguishes a skillful experienced teacher handling a class from the inexperienced or inept novice is that the experienced one will be reading these messages very rapidly and making some judgement which may turn out not to be bad considering the pressure under which he must operate.

Probably the most important part of what we do occurs during students' teaching practice when they are out in school. In our case the students are out for about twelve weeks, but people vary the format in the booklet according to their pattern of practice. We are really saying here that students must arrive at their own style of teaching, but that there are people who will be able to help them, like for example, their fellow students, teachers in the school, their tutor, people who are part of the training partnership. An example of this is an exercise on 'vigilance', which Jacob Kounin calls 'withitness', the ability to take in much of what is around the room and split one's attention between the person one is with and another group elsewhere in the room.

Two students work together, one sitting at the back, the other teaching the lesson, and it does not matter whether it is a French or a science lesson, an open plan school, formal or informal. One student takes major responsibility for the lesson and the other records information. The first task is for ten minutes, the person sitting at the back watches the teacher's eyes writing freehand notes about the teacher's use of his eyes, whether the teacher is staring down at his boots, whether he has eye contact with pupils who answer and so on. The second task is to choose two children, who, for whatever reason, appear not to be engaged in their work and to write notes about them. The reason this exercise works well is twofold, first of all the person sitting at the back learns to use his eyes, he must look for the children who are not working and he has to make judgements about why they are not involved, whether the task is too difficult, what children do when they are not engaged. The student teaching the class, knowing that his colleague is looking for two people who are not working, becomes more vigilant than he might otherwise be. On the other hand handling a difficult class, is not something we have done with novices, nor with the student's tutor, because the tutor visiting the school cannot know it as well as the teacher who works there. On this occasion, the sixth exercise in the series undertaken later in teaching practice, it is the experienced teacher in the school who becomes involved. The exercise begins with the student writing a description of a confrontation which he has had with the class, because we know that the experienced teacher going in to see a lesson, will probably not witness a confrontation, and we also know that many students regard a particular class as being difficult because they have had confrontations with pupils in it. Next the experienced teacher can suggest ways in which the student can meet informally some of the children who cause most difficulty, away from the pressures of a classroom confrontation. Some students only meet the children in the arena, when all their fellow adolescents are there and everyone is watching, they never meet informally. A teacher in a school who knows the place well, can tell a student that the children go to the coffee bar at mid-day, or that they play football in the school yard, belong to the gym club or whatever, and the student can try to involve himself in a natural way. No tutor could undertake this, no fellow student could have the experience or the confidence to help engineer it. It has to be done by a teacher in a school.

We have also created sets of slides showing a teacher whose classes are going wrong. The slides are based on critical events and analysis of students' lessons. Several of the slides concern the beginnings of lessons. The beginning is crucial, not just because it is at the beginning but because all sorts of things happen within the first five minutes that set the tone for the rest. For example, during the entry itself, many people allow classes to blunder in, and it then becomes difficult to establish a working mood. Similarly many lessons begin with explanations which are badly delivered. Explanations are crucial in teaching, and we have just done a study of 200 children in a school in Exeter where we asked them to rate a list of things to do with teaching that they valued, and slightly to our surprise, "this teacher can explain things clearly" received the highest ratings. Children want

to learn and student teachers frequently assume they do not. In interview and to their parents many children will admit privately, not publicly, because the quickest social death known to an adolescent is to stand up and say "Be quiet I'm very interested in History", that they resent their colleagues' disruption of lessons. Hence they value explanations because they wish to learn.

Other slides deal with eye contact, Kounin's 'Withitness', the 'ripple effect' described by Kounin and Gump and substantiated in our own work, independence, escalation, where simple issues become complex and problematic because of the teacher's failure to act, confrontations and time on task.

The slides dealing with confrontation are deliberately very ethological, the opening graphic being a snarling lion. This is because, under threat, under pressure from their fellows, pupils and teachers engage in displays, physiological effects such as increase in heart-rate and blood pressure occur, and participants need the sort of gentlemanly escape from aggressive confrontations that Konrad Lorenz describes in his book on dogs "So kam der Mensch auf den Hund", though urinating on the nearest tree before returning home is not always a ready possibility in classrooms.

Time on task is of great current concern in similar work to our own in the USA, such as the Beginning Teacher Evaluation Study, and the Texan work at Austin by Carolyn Evertson and Jerry Brophy. In a number of our observations we saw very little actual work, some pupils spending very little time indeed on the task on hand. In one study in the USA by Deutsch the investigator found some teachers in inner city schools had to spend as much as 75 per cent of their time trying to keep order, a massive investment of anyone's time. Although I personally believe that social chat acts as a lubricant and can, in certain cases, ensure a high level of work, there is such a colossal amount of social chat in some lessons that very little of substance can take place, since teaching depends very much on the cumulative effect of established patterns over a long period of time rather than the short-term effect of occasional spectacular and sporadic modifications of the norm. Hence the many criticisms of badly conducted informal teaching, though when we once did a cast study of Margaret Stephens, the informal teacher who obtained highest gains in Nevill Bennett's Lancaster Study she obtained the highest time-on-task rating we ever observed with the Nottingham Class Management Observation Schedule. To return to my early theme: if society requires a higher level of skill from its school leavers than ever before we simply cannot afford to have many teachers unable to handle their classes effectively. In every respect it would be a great disservice to the next generation of adults to allow them to enter society ill-equipped with the knowledge, skill and adaptive routines necessary for a happy and successful adulthood.

BEHAVIOUR MODIFICATION AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

John L. Presland

INTRODUCTION

Those applications of the psychology of learning to school behaviour problems which are commonly referred to as 'behaviour modification' seem to be having a tough time in British secondary schools and it is hard to find many reports of successful work in this area. The present author, who has documented successful applications of these principles in primary and special educational settings during the course of workshops for teachers (Presland, 1977; 1978a; 1978b), was unable to evoke any comparable applications in a workshop in a comprehensive school, and could not even recruit any teachers for a workshop proposed in another. Another psychologist (McNamara, 1978) who organised workshops involving one hundred secondary school teachers, found that only six carried out a behaviour modification programme in which success was both claimed by the teacher and supported by numerical data which participants were asked to collect. A few instances of successful efforts involving British teachers are in print (see, for example, Lane, 1972; 1978; Lane and Millar, 1977). One article (Macmillan and Kolvin, 1977a) claims helpful effects with 11- to 13-year-olds but does not document them, and McNamara (1976; 1978) reports success where pupils themselves have operated techniques for improving their behaviour. Both McNamara (1976) and Macmillan and Kolvin (1975) devotes a whole article to difficulties which are general, but most evident in secondary schools.

In trying to account for this limited application of behaviour modification techniques in secondary schools it would be wrong to conclude that behaviour modification techniques simply will not work with pupils of secondary age or in ordinary classrooms. There are a number of American studies, many of which are collected together in a book by Long and Williams (1973), which demonstrate their efficacy in:

a) reducing disruptive behaviour and increasing appropriate working habits with younger pupils, up to about age 14, (Broden et al., 1971; Warner et al., 1977; Glover and Sherman, 1973; Medland and Stachnik, 1972; Solomon et al., 1973; Rosenfeld, 1972; Page and Edwards, 1978; White-Blackburn et al., 1977), and with those in the 15- to 19-year age range (McAllister et al., 1969; Hall et al., 1968, 1970; Schumaker et al., 1977; Marlowe et al., 1978; Glynn, 1970; Main and Munro, 1977).

b) reducing assaults on other children in a 13-year-old boy (Webster, 1976) and,

c) increasing school attendance in 15- to 16-year-old chronic non-attenders (MacDonald et al., 1970).

The major problem in trying to encourage the use of behaviour modification

in secondary schools seem to be the reluctance of secondary school teachers to accept and implement these approaches. The British authors referred to above (and also Harrop and McNamara, 1979) have already speculated on reasons for this, and their thoughts need not be repeated here. Instead, an attempt will be made to suggest ways in which teachers might incorporate aspects of the psychology of learning into the handling of behaviour problems in secondary school without necessarily always having to carry out a full individual 'behaviour modification programme'.

A Behaviour Modification Programme in Practice

Perhaps the best way to start is to describe a behaviour modification programme which one secondary school teacher actually did carry out, in order to illustrate some of the principles of the approach. It originated within the context of a workshop for teachers, consisting of six late-afternoon meetings on a weekly basis and a follow-up meeting about half-a-term later. Participants were given lectures on how to implement behaviour modification techniques, and then took part in discussion groups, guided by educational psychologists, in which each teacher worked out a programme for changing specific problem behaviours in a selected child. They then implemented this programme in the classroom and measured the occurrence of the behaviour before and after the intervention. Most participants were from primary and special schools, but one teacher, whom we will call Mrs. X, came from a non-selective girls' secondary school in an urban area with many problems. The school had set up a class to cope specifically with 18 third-year girls who were very disruptive. The number of teachers taking the class was reduced to a small number. Mrs. X was one of them. As her 'study-pupil' she chose a girl we will call Virgina.

Mrs. X was first asked to identify those specific behaviours displayed by Virginia which she wished to change and those specific behaviours which she wished her to engage in more frequently. For the former she chose 'dumb insolence' and 'deliberate non-participation in oral lessons' which were considerable problems with Virginia; and for the latter, taking part in lessons in a cheerful and cooperative manner. These behaviours were not as specific as we would have liked. For instance, something like 'staring at teacher and not complying when asked to work' would have been preferable to 'dumb insolence', since the latter does not really specify the precise behaviour to change. However, Mrs. X was fairly clear in her own mind what she wanted to achieve.

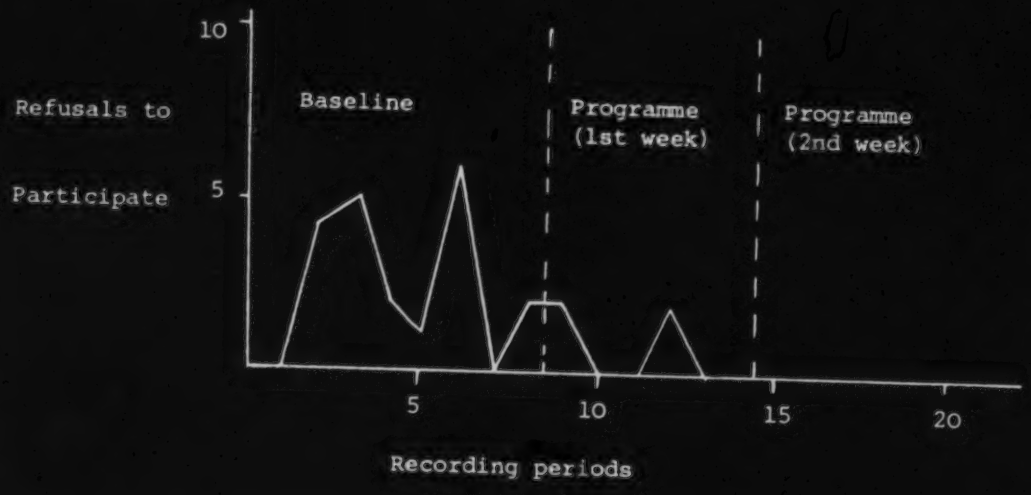
The next step was to identify one specific behaviour which could be measured and thus provide some objective means of monitoring results. Mrs. X chose 'refusing to participate in oral lessons', and recorded the number of such refusals in each of the five 35 minute periods during which she taught Virgina.

After a fortnight of this 'base-line measurement' a programme was designed and implemented. A central feature of most behaviour modification programmes is that specific behaviours are regularly followed by particular rewarding consequences. As a result, those behaviours increase in frequency - they are said to have been 'reinforced'. Where

behaviour is to be reduced in frequency, the rewards can be given either for defined periods of abstinence, or for engagement in other behaviours incompatible with the undesirable ones. Mrs. X opted for the latter, reinforcing instances of desirable behaviour, or their persistence for a specified period. Strictly speaking, both the behaviours and the standards to be reached should be specifically defined, but Mrs. X did not do this. The reinforcers chosen were points exchangeable for later reward, and Mrs. X felt it was more appropriate to apply the programme to the whole class rather than individually to Virginia. She explained to the class that points exchangeable for later rewards (not specified) would be given for good behaviour and work well done, and then awarded them whenever she felt someone's behaviour merited it. After a week she discussed with the girls the rewards they would like and it was eventually agreed that when any girl reached a target of 30 points, Mrs. X would write a favourable report to her parents.

During the programme, Mrs. X continued measuring behaviour in the same way as during the base-line. The results are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1



It can be seen that the average number of instances of unacceptable behaviour per period was 2.5 during the base-line, 0.66 while points were given but the reward not specified, and zero when the reward was specified. The proportion of periods with more than two instances of unacceptable behaviour was 37.5% during the base-line, but there were none during the programme. Mrs. X reported that during the first week of the programme there was a marked improvement in Virginia's behaviour, in that she co-operated much more than she had done the previous week. After the decision on the reward, she became 'a different girl - co-operative, helpful in and out of the classroom and very happy'. Other members of staff commented very favourably too.

Unfortunately, Mrs. X did not come to the follow-up meeting, and did not provide any follow-up information, so we do not know what happened in the long term.

Will Others Do It?

Even within the context of the workshop, Mrs. X had expressed reluctance about using the techniques before embarking on a programme, and it is hard to imagine that many secondary school teachers would employ them without detailed support and guidance. There are, however, ways in which some of the principles involved might be utilised without too much detailed planning for individual children.

Clarifying and Recording Change

It is, for instance, possible to make clear to individual pupils the specific behaviour which the teacher objects to, rather than, as sometimes occurs, denigrating them as people or complaining about their behaviour in such general terms as 'insolence'. It should also help always to make clear the alternative behaviours which are required and to indicate that some check will be made to see whether these behaviours do actually appear. Simply keeping records of behaviour can lead to improvement. It is well worth reading the earlier quoted articles which describe how some pupils managed their own behaviour. The main technique described involves the pupil in keeping a systematic record of his own appropriate or inappropriate behaviour. One pupil, for instance, made a mark on a form every time he talked when not supposed to (McNamara, 1978). This alone can lead to improvement.

Applications of Reinforcement

The reinforcement principle should also be relatively easy to apply. The most obvious reinforcer is praise. This combined with disapproval, was found to reduce inappropriate talking and turning round in 16- to 19-year-olds by McAllister et al. (1969). Yet surveys have found disapproval is used more frequently than approval by secondary school teachers in America (Fish and Loehfelm, 1975) and Australia (Thomas et al., 1978). In fact, the American study found that approval was hardly ever given for good behaviour but mainly only for good work. Are British teachers different? It should certainly be possible to look for and frequently praise instances of appropriate behaviour in pupils more given to misbehaviour.

Many secondary school teachers seem to disapprove of more concrete rewards for appropriate behaviour, though a similar disdain is not usually extended to prizes for high academic achievement - which usually go to those whose motivation is so good that such rewards are superfluous. Others doubt that there are any rewards which can be effective. However, secondary pupils have their own ideas on this - surveys have shown that they do value good marks, favourable reports and letters home, and success for a team or house (Thorne and Davies, 1978; Highfield and Pinsent, 1952; Burns, 1978; Storey, 1975). Praise also finds considerable favour, though there are indications that it can be disliked by older pupils if delivered too publicly - and one research study confirms this (McCullough, 1972).

Various research studies have shown the effectiveness of more concrete reinforcers, such as prizes, free time and other privileges (Glyn, 1970; Page and Edwards, 1978; White-Blackburn et al., 1977). Some secondary teachers, after an introduction to behaviour modification principles by the author, improved classroom behaviour by rewarding good behaviour from the whole class by a short period at the end of the lesson in which the class itself chose a group activity.

To enable such resources to be used for frequent reinforcment of desirable behaviour, a 'token' system is often recommended and has been found to be effective in a number of the studies quoted. Here, the immediate reward is a point, a mark, or some other thing, usually of little value in itself. When a specified number of tokens is gained, they can be exchanged for some more meaningful reward. Virginia's programme provides such an example and Lane (1978) describes such a system applied to a whole 'remedial' class. Another device, found useful in studies with pupils in the lower secondary age range (Harris and Sherman, 1973; Medlang and Stachnik, 1972; Warner et al., 1977) is to divide a class into teams and have them compete to win, or avoid losing, points.

It should be noted, however, that the principle of reinforcement can unwittingly be applied in ways which defeat the teacher's ends. For example, for pupils unused to approving attention, even disapproving attention can be enjoyed (at least they are being noticed). Thus, lectures for misbehaviour can actually reinforce undesirable behaviour. They may also focus the attention (perhaps even the admiration) of classmates on the offender, another source of reinforcement. Sarcasm and other unpleasantness to an offending pupil can create revenge motives, so that the pupil's annoying behaviour is subsequently reinforced by his satisfaction at annoying the teacher. Fortunately, such effects can be largely avoided. For instance, disapproval can be expressed briefly, quietly and/or individually to minimise attention and exhortations to behave in certain ways can be given at the beginning of a lesson rather than immediately following misbehaviour.

What role is there for punishment?

One aspect of behaviour modification which is perhaps most offputting to secondary teachers is the exhortation to ignore misbehaviour, on the grounds that it will diminish if it is not reinforced. However, it is hard to guarantee complete absence of reinforcers, and it is probable that following this advice would, in many instances, be a mistake. Some kind of punishment for inappropriate behaviour may often be necessary, though its effects in secondary school classrooms have barely been studied. Hall et al. (1970) found that marks in French tests went up when low marks regularly led to after-school tutoring sessions in 16- to 17-year-olds and Webster (1976) decreased the incidence of physical assaults on other children by a 13-year-old boy by removing him to a room on his own for the rest of the lesson after every such offence - but other studies are elusive. Research on punishment of children in general, however (Heron, 1978; Wright, 1977; Parke, 1969), provides us with some promising guidelines.

Firstly, it seems important that the use of punishment should be planned, rather than ad hoc or as the last desperate response in a series of attempts to deal with disruptive or uncooperative behaviour. As with reinforcement, both teacher and pupil should be clear about the precise behaviour to be punished, and the punishment should be delivered systematically and predictably. The pupil should not be punished on one occasion for a particular misdemeanour, merely warned of further punishment the next two times, punished the next, have the misdemeanour overlooked the next, reasoned with the next, let off the next and punished the next. The misbehaviour should regularly be followed by essentially the same consequences and the pupil should know in advance what they are to be. If warnings are to be included, let the system be something like 'One warning, then invariably punishment if it does not have the desired effect'. If a variety of punishments are to be used, to prevent the pupil learning to tolerate one, let the pupil be clear about what they are and how they are to be used. Escalation of punishments is generally to be avoided, since this may result in the pupil gradually learning to tolerate increasing punishment. Let the severity required be determined early and then maintained.

Secondly, the punishment needs to be an effective one. What is effective will, of course, vary from one pupil to another. Removal from the classroom to stand in the corridor may, for instance, actually be rewarding to some pupils, particularly if the regime or lesson content makes positive reinforcement difficult to obtain in the classroom. Removal to work privately can have a similar effect, as in the instance of a girl seen by the author for whom it resolved the conflict between a desire to 'play up' with her friends and a desire to be successful in her work. However, the surveys quoted earlier give some useful leads. An adverse report to parents (whether written or by contact) was by far the most feared. Other punishments the pupils ranked as being most effective were loss of privileges (e.g. games) intensified supervision (including being "on report") and corporal punishment. One study found that detention and extra work were little regarded. One way of making economical use of available punishment is to allocate points for separate offences, punishment being delivered when a specified number of point has accumulated. Broden et al. (1970), with a special class of 13-15 year olds in ordinary school, describe a system of 'minus' points leading to after-school detention, which could, however, be bought off by 'plus' points gained for appropriate behaviour. A similar system could be used for unfavourable reports to home, or for any other kind of punishment.

Many other guide-lines for punishment can be laid down. It is, for instance, more effective if delivered early rather than late in the sequence of behaviour which is punished, if the pupil clearly understands its purpose, and if it is given in the context of a warm and friendly relationship. There are also dangers to avoid. If it is too severe it may unduly encourage escape rather than reform, lead to a general reduction of behaviour (good or bad) to 'play safe', frighten 'good' pupils of a timid nature, lower pupils' self-esteem (which can have adverse effects on their behaviour), lead to hostile feelings which make establishment of a more positive relationship difficult or encourage more disruptive behaviour for revenge motives. It is also possible that some severe forms of punishment,

corporal punishment for instance, may function as bad examples which we would not wish pupils to follow. There is evidence that children often imitate the actions of their elders, (Yates and Yates, 1978) and that methods of child-rearing depending heavily on punishment of a physically agressive kind produce children who themselves behave in a physically violent fashion (Herbert, 1974). Pupils who see their teachers inflict physical pain to achieve some of their ends may themselves become more likely to use such means of influencing others. Fortunately, mild or 'reasonable' punishment is normally effective if administered in the ways recommended. Finally, it should always be remembered that punishment basically only suppresses behaviour and usually has only a temporary effect. It does not, in itself, teach the pupil the positive alternative behaviour we want from him and which he needs to develop to minimise the dangers of relapsing into the behaviour suppressed by punishment. To do this, measures based on reward for the positive behaviour are normally more effective.

Applications for Senior Staff

A feature of many secondary schools is the partial differentiation of teaching and discipline. Particular senior staff are often appointed with responsibility for 'discipline', and children they do not teach are sent to them for this purpose. Various schemes have been devised to help them exercise this function, like 'being on report'. What can behaviour modification findings offer in devising and operating such schemes?

Firstly, it would not be difficult in principle to arrange a token system in which tokens obtained from a range of teachers were exchanged for reinforcers dispensed by the senior member of staff. These might be prizes, privileges or favourable reports home. All teachers would have to understand the need for having clear criteria for awarding and dispensing tokens consistently in the specified fashion so that pupils could have trust in the system. The tokens would need to be non-forgeable. For example, 'well done' could be written over a piece of newsprint and photocopied many times. If this was done on a number of different pieces of newsprint, different pupils could have different tokens, thus preventing 'bartering' and 'extortion'. Such tokens might need to be given unobtrusively rather than openly to some pupils in certain classrooms. A simple report form, such as that used for being 'on report', could be substituted for tokens, but the entries could more easily be forged.

Many teachers might object to such a system on the grounds that other pupils would misbehave so that they, too, could win rewards for behaving better. As a generalisation, this probably over-estimates the machiavellianism of secondary school pupils, but it may occasionally happen. It is likely, however, that pupils prepared to do this will benefit from the experiences they obtain as a result. In a special unit in a secondary school, for instance, a teacher attending a workshop organised by the author introduced a reinforcement programme for one pupil and was prepared to allow others to join in. Only those with notable behaviour problems chose to do so - the others didn't want to know! Nor was there any apparent resentment on the part of the non-participants and none has been reported in the numerous behaviour modification studies.

Other teachers may object to the notion of giving concrete rewards to difficult pupils at all. While this is a pity, it should not prevent their making use of behaviour modification techniques. There is no reason why pupils should not use tokens awarded for improved behaviour to 'buy off' progressive increments of some period of close supervision or other unpleasant consequences which would otherwise occur on a specified date. Whatever the tokens are exchanged for, this system has the advantage, over 'putting on report', that the pupil is likely to be positively motivated to participate, since he can only lose by not doing so. In contrast, being 'on report' is something he might employ various devices to evade, and hence give the senior member of staff increased 'checking-up' work. It also enables more attention to be given to appropriate than to inappropriate behaviour and is therefore less likely to inadvertently reinforce the latter.

Involving Parents

A senior member of staff can also involve parents in a token system like the one described. Schumaker et al. (1977) describe a successful system for reporting regularly to the parents of 13- to 14- year-old boys with educational and behaviour problems. Each teacher filled in a daily report card for each pupil, and the parents dispensed various privileges at home according to the entries on the cards. A pamphlet outlining the careful guidance needed for both parents and teachers in operating such a system is available from the author (Presland, undated).

Contracts

A technique which can be helpful in conjunction with any of the methods above, when applied to individual pupils rather than to classes, is contracting. Here, the behaviours to change, and the rewards, are negotiated with the pupil, rather than imposed, and the teacher himself may need to agree to change some behaviours of his own. The agreements are usually written down and even signed in the presence of witnesses. There should, preferably, be penalty clauses with consequences for infringement of the contract so that it can survive occasional infringements rather than breaking down when they occur. White-Blackburn et al. (1977) found such a system successful with 12- to 13-year-olds in an ordinary classroom, and Macmillan and Kolvin (1977a), Lane and Millar (1977) and Lane 1972; 1978), describe applications in British classrooms.

An example of a contract is given by Lane (1978), and concerns a girl who swore at her teacher and would not attend her lessons. Headed "A Contract Between Mrs. Beale and Julie Watson", it proceeds as follows_

"This contract is for lessons during the period.....
It is agreed that:

Mrs. Beale will on Tuesday mornings at 10.00 a.m. to 11.30 a.m. meet Julie in Classroom B and review with her chapters 17 - 21 of the French Primer Book B. Mrs. Beale would not shout at Julie if she gets things wrong, will praise her when she gets things right and will not call her stupid. She will help Julie to catch up on work missed.

Julie Watson will attend all French lessons on Monday at 9.15 a.m. to 10.00 a.m and Tuesday at 2.30 p.m. to 3.30 p.m. and a coaching session on Tuesday at 10.00 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. All these lessons will take place in Classroom B unless otherwise notified. She will not swear at Mrs. Beale during French and coaching lessons and will complete all set work in a specified time.

If either Mrs. Beale or Julie Watson cannot attend an agreed lesson at the set time they must let each other know why in advance. If one party fails to stick to all the terms of the contract and the other party at her discretion does not consider the reason valid they will be given seven days notice of intention to withdraw from the contract. If the misdemeanour is not repeated during that time the contract will be continued. Repetition of the misdemeanour in that seven day period will result in the loss of the contract and a return to the previous situation". This contract was signed by both parties.

CONCLUSION

It has not been the author's intention to provide a comprehensive guide to the use of behaviour modification in secondary schools. Only the main principles have been introduced together with a selection of application. Brief guides (although not intended specifically for secondary schools) are provided by Presland (1974) and Macmillan and Kolvin (1977b), and there are many detailed guides available (e.g. Blackham and Silberman, 1975). The major aim of this article has been to suggest approaches which should be workable in secondary schools without revolutionary changes in teaching methods or school organisation. Schools would, however, be well advised to seek help from their local educational psychologist to maximise the chance of successful applications.

The research evidence, together with reports from the few teachers so far willing to give behaviour modification approaches a serious trial in British secondary schools, suggests that the techniques described have a very good chance of favourable and useful outcomes. How many more teachers, and schools, will be bold enough to try them?

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THREE CLASSROOM PROCEDURES

Alexander Gobell

My aim in this paper is to explore three different approaches to problem behaviour which can both help us to understand what is happening to a child, and provide us with useful procedures for dealing with emotional and behaviour problems in the classroom and school.

INTRODUCTION

In working with children with problems many of us feel it would be a help to understand how those problems have developed: if only we knew what the causes were we would be more likely to find ways to help the children overcome their problems successfully. However, as soon as we begin to search for reasons and causes, we realize how complex the past history of any given child is, and that the unravelling of the important experiences is a daunting task. This task is made all the more difficult in face of the lack of agreement about what mechanisms are involved in the development of behaviour, especially problem behaviour. There is no one set of explanations, or any single psychological model, that has general acceptance, and there sometimes seems to be direct contradiction between models.

I have found it useful to try to look at children's problems from several differing points of view - that is, applying different models. Sometimes one, and sometimes another, model has seemed to be most help, both in understanding a problem and in finding a promising intervention procedure. Other teachers with whom I have worked, both from ordinary and special schools, have also seemed to find this approach useful. Such an approach necessitates some study of the different schools of psychology which have formulated the models of behaviour and provide explanations for the development of problems in behaviour and which in turn have spawned differing intervention procedures to deal with similar problems.

Another benefit that has one from studying various models, has been the greater ability that teachers have subsequently found in understanding the explanations and advice of the other professionals, such as psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and doctors. These may have been trained in and be applying different models in their work, and it is useful for the teacher to be able to understand the terminology they are using and some of the basic assumptions that they are making.

From a range of possible models, I have found three most useful, and will confine myself here to these:

1. The psychodynamic model. Based on Freud's work, this has historically been the most influential in child guidance.

2. The social learning theory model. Based on behavioural psychology, this has been growing in importance over the past years, and there is a good deal of published evidence for the success of methods with a wide range of problems. It is claimed to be readily useable in schools.

3. The humanistic model. This has recently grown influential in the United States, and through the work of Carl Rogers, has had a great influence on social work in Britain, and seems to appeal to the many people who question present day institutions and approaches within the "helping professions" - which include teaching.

I plan to give a very brief outline of some of the ideas of each model in explaining the development of problem behaviour, and then suggest one practical procedure derived from that model, which has been found to be useful by practising teachers. It will, of course, be impossible to do justice to these approaches in the confines of one short paper. Fontana (1977) provides a good introduction to the personality theories, and Price (1978) discusses the merits and shortcomings of these three approaches among others. But one can only do justice to a given theory by reading what the originator or some advocate has to say, and suggestions for such reading are given in the appropriate places.

THE PSYCHODYNAMIC MODEL

The psychodynamic approach has had a pervasive influence on twentieth century thinking. The key concept is that we are motivated (or even controlled) by internal pressures and drives, and if an acceptable outlet cannot be found, then these pressures will result in unacceptable behaviour or unpleasant experiences.

The volcano has been used as a dramatic illustration - with the building up of the internal pressures until they erupt. But the analogy of a dam, holding back the pressure of water, is perhaps more useful. For by judicious release of water through the valves and channels provided, the build up of the water pressure can be kept down to safe levels, and the dam would only be threatened by excessive pressure in a crisis situation.

Although this is grossly oversimplified, the aims of many of the psychodynamic procedures in teaching and therapy are primarily concerned with the provision of opportunity for acceptable outlet of the internal pressures ('letting off steam', 'getting it off your chest'). This can be achieved through physical activity, including various sports and games, through creative expression including dance, music, acting, playing, pottery, as well as through talking to someone about a problem.

In addition to finding release, it is also seen as important to gain understanding of some of the causes of the internal pressures and problems. Freud emphasised the unconscious nature of these causes, which he saw as mainly originating during the first years of life. He postulated stages of development through which the infant and young child had to pass, enjoying sufficient, but avoiding excessive, gratification of certain functions. During the 'oral stage' (up to about 16 months), the

infant is in communication with the world primarily through the mouth and the intake of food; and the experience of being fed, of hunger and being in contact with an adult who provides almost everything, is important. During the 'anal stage' (1 - 3 years old), the learning of faecal control and toilet training becomes an issue between mother and child, who experiences what it means to please or defy the adult authority figure. During the 'phallic stage' (3 - 7 years old) the child experiences direct sexual sensations, and in many cultures the moral attitudes to sexual behaviour are laid down. At this stage the girl and boy establish their relationship with the mother and father, and the patterns for their future relationships with both the same and the opposite sex are formed.

Each of these stages provides a conflict between internal desires, and external demands, and either under- or over-gratification of the child's needs at any stage can lead to future problems. For example problems associated with the anal stage may be retentive, such as hoarding, collecting, even miserliness or unwillingness to communicate. Or the problems may be expulsive such as always losing things or giving things away, or loquaciousness.

The explanation of both extremes of compulsive and phobic behaviour (having to do, or not being able to do) as being the result of both over and under gratification has stretched the credibility of some critics, who see this as an attempt to have it both ways. But it can also be seen as a reflection of the great variety of human reaction to situations of stress and crisis. Adolescence, as a time of transition from childhood to adult status, from dependence to responsibility, is a particularly stressful period, when the unresolved conflicts of the earlier years are reactivated and cause the difficult behaviours and emotions. Much psychodynamic therapy with children and adolescents consists of discovering, and trying to understand, those earlier conflicts through specialized techniques such as play and art therapy and role play or psychodrama. These are not themselves particularly applicable to the teacher within the school.

Freud also emphasised the part played by unconscious defense mechanisms in causing behaviour problems. These are ways in which people defend themselves against painful or unpalatable ideas or situations. For example a child may project the anger he feels towards a parent onto the teacher, and act accordingly, whilst actually having no cause against the teacher. If she can recognise the projection for what it is, and that it is not actually directed against her, she can avoid becoming too involved personally and retain a better chance of helping the child, especially by using a technique like the Life Space Interview.

Fontana (1977) gives a summary of some of the main defense mechanisms, and Hall (1954) discusses them more fully.

The Life Space Interview

The Life Space Interview was originated by Redl (1959) to provide teachers with a therapeutic technique for helping children, which makes

use of the principles of psychodynamic therapy. All too often, Redl said, teachers regard children's emotional problems as the province of the expert, and so children are referred to the psychotherapist or psychiatrist, who sees them sometime later, when the crisis has subsided. But with some relatively brief basic training and clear guidelines, Redl claimed that teachers and child care staff could do useful therapeutic work at the moment when a problem was presented, in classroom or corridor; that is in the child's life space rather than in the clinician's office (Morse, 1963).

The way that the L.S.I., has developed owes much to recent work on counselling, notably that of Hamblin (1974), who expands many of the ideas. It provides an opportunity for ventilation, encourages the feeling of acceptance of the child by the teacher, and works towards a specific solution to the presenting problem. The basic framework is illustrated by Figure 1.

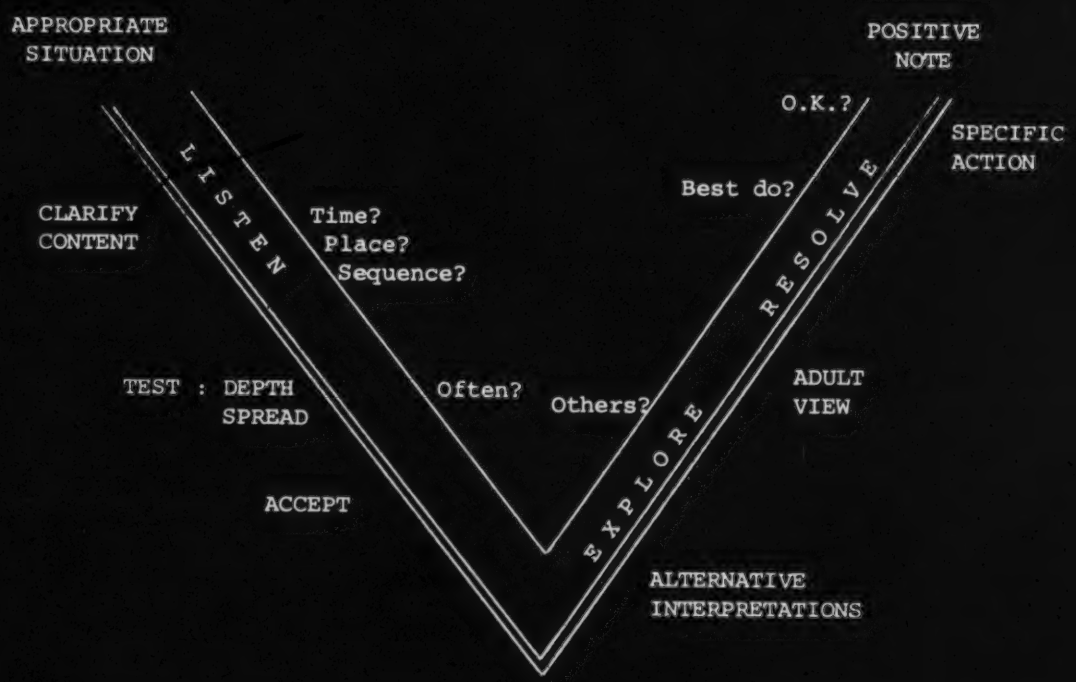

Figure 1. Life Space Interview

The downward, or inward, path consists of encouraging the child to explore his or her own version of the problem. The teacher does as much listening as possible, trying to limit herself to questions and cues, such as "What happened? Where? When? In what order? What is felt about it?

Is it a regular or isolated incident?" and so on. Notice the absence of the question "Why?" Redl claimed that this is usually an unproductive question, as the child cannot at this stage answer it, and can feel it an accusatory question, which will get in the way of the teacher-pupil relationship.

This listening role is difficult for many teachers, as it is different from the more normal teaching functions of information giving, explaining, suggesting, and evaluating. Children's reactions to the experience of really being listened to by a teacher can sometimes be quite surprising and gratifying, as well as sobering for those teachers who thought that they made a point of paying attention and listening to children. The effect of being properly listened to, with interest, can in itself be therapeutic for children.

At the appropriate point on the downward stage, according to the nature of the task in hand and the time available, the teacher has to decide to change course, and take the upward, or outward path. At this stage the meanings and repercussions of behaviour are looked at. Children need to learn adult opinions of their behaviour, and whether it is approved of, or not. The effects of behaviour can also be explored: that aggression will tend to attract further aggression, rudeness will be punished by adults, lying will lead to being mistrusted, and so on. The child is still given as much initiative as possible, being encouraged to evaluate and suggest, but the teacher does take a more active role than before, but is careful not to overwhelm the child and to push too hard. It is at this stage that the child has the chance to see the problem from another viewpoint, through another's eyes, and will be more likely to be able to do so if his or her own view has been well listened to in the first phase.

The final stage consists of examining possible courses of action that can be followed. Ideally the child would come up with a solution to the problem, or at least an agreed on course of action. Of course, this is not always possible, and one may have to be content with making a further appointment to look at the problem again. Some courses of action may need some stage management: for instance, if a child decides to apologise to someone, perhaps another member of staff, it may be wise to warn and prepare that person, as it can be very disappointing if a child's apology is met with further rebuke.

On the first occasion that someone tries out the L.S.I., it is recommended that a time is chosen where there is no pressure from bells, and there is sufficient opportunity and time to develop the stages. It also helps to start with a problem that is capable of some, even temporary, resolution. But eventually the L.S.I. can be used quite widely, sometimes even when there are only a few moments available, such as at the end of a lesson. There are obviously situations where it is unsuitable, for instance when a child is completely mute, or is in a temper tantrum, and one would have to wait until some sensible conversation could be carried on. However, I have been impressed by the variety of situations in which the Life Space Interview structure has been helpful in dealing with children's problems.

SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY

The social learning theory approach is represented in this book in the papers on behaviour modification by Milburn and Presland. The former discusses the use of the techniques in the lower school of a comprehensive school, and is the only example we could find of a systematic application of behaviour modification at the secondary stage in the ordinary school, although there are many examples of its use in special schools. Presland discusses the possible reason for this puzzling reluctance of the schools to use methods of demonstrated success. I have also found many teachers initially suspicious of these methods which seem to focus openly on the mechanics of manipulating behaviour; we seem to have become used to influencing our school children relatively subtly, and suddenly to bring the methods into the open, even if we have been using them all our teaching careers, can feel a bit too brash.

Presland describes some of the techniques of behaviour modification that have been shown to work with a variety of problems in many situations, and there are several excellent introductory texts such as Poteet (1973), Blackham and Silberman (1975) and Axelrod (1977). So I want here to focus on some of the differences between the social learning theory approach and the other approaches, especially as they apply to the schools.

In the first place, behaviour modification, as the term implies, does tend to be concerned with the actual behaviour, rather than with the underlying emotional or thought processes. It has grown out of experimental behaviouristic psychology, and many of the procedures were originally developed in the laboratory, and ignored factors that could not be directly observed and objectively quantified. The picture in clinical practice has greatly changed in the last few years and attention is increasingly being given to internal, or covert,processes such as people's thoughts or emotions (Bandura, 1977; Meichenbaum, 1977). These seem to me to be very important developments, and make the combination of social learning and other approaches much more possible.

However, most of the procedures that are appropriate for the teacher in the classroom do still tend to focus principally on behaviour that can be observed and measured: time spent working, talking, moving around, making noise and so on. This tends to be distinct from the other approaches which seem to emphasize the underlying factors, such as how a child is feeling, with the belief that if he feels right, he will behave right.

This leads on to a second difference: social learning theory looks at behaviour in terms of the present context, and any attempt to help starts in the present environment. This is not to deny that the causes of behaviour lie in the past; for it is, of course, past experiences that have taught people what to expect from their present actions. But it is very complicated (and possibly rather arrogant) to try to unravel the underlying causes of present behaviour, given the richness and variability of human experience.

In behaviour modification the focus is on the consequences of behaviour and intervention is in terms of ensuring that someone behaves in a given way because they want the consequences, whether they be approval and praise, or successful achievement, or some material reward. This emphasis on the present has seemed superficial to practitioners who are used to deep exploration of their clients' past experiences: for them the present can only be understood in terms of the past, and behaviour modification can only be scratching the surface.

The answer to this criticism can be found in the third way that behaviour modification tends to differ from the other approaches, which is in the rigorous way that the procedures are assessed for their results. There has been an almost obsessive insistence in the texts on the specifiying and 'operationalizing' of the behaviours to be modified, the establishment of baselines, the observing, recording and quantifying of behaviours and the publishing of outcomes. The result is a most impressive array of reports on successful application of behaviour modification, in a wide range of situations, including schools.

The value of behaviour modification for the teacher in dealing with problem behaviour is evident; and so is the value of careful assessment of what we do, with the willingness to change if we find that our results are not as good as they ought to be. One technique that carries a measure of assessment in the basic structure, because it depends on a record of target behaviour, is that of contracting; and this is the one of many successful techniques that I have chosen to describe.

Contracts

The idea of entering into a contract with a pupil is by no means new - nor are most of the techniques used in behaviour modification. A great deal of the motivation in school is in the form of an implied contract: work harder and you will get better marks, or behave well and you will gain privileges. The added factor here is that the contract becomes explicit by being written and signed, and that the requirements and rewards are made very specific.

I have used contracts with a variety of problems with children: for the production of work, for improved work, for the elimination of such behaviours as swearing, hitting, and wandering, and for the development of desirable behaviours. Contracting introduces several factors into the pupil-teacher relationship that I find beneficial, especially an element of pupil participation in, and responsibility for, the setting of targets. McCauley and McCauley (1977) describe the sort of useful negotiation process that can take place in the setting up of contracts, which can increase the understanding of what each participant wants of the other. Contracts also make possible the use of the reinforcing properties of parents and other agencies outside the school. For example, pupils can earn privileges at home, or in club activities, by the work they contract to do in school.

Recently I have enjoyed using a formally worded contract, which even smacks a little of legal jargon (Figure 2). This is nothing more than a

novelty gimmick, but it seems to be helpful in arousing interest, and provides an initial impetus. The first contractee is usually the pupil, who undertakes to complete what is stated in "the first contractee's part", while the second contractee, the teacher, states what will be provided in reinforcer terms on completion.

CONTRACT

This is a Contract between:

..... (First Contractee)

and

..... (Second Contractee)

Below are stated the requirements to be delivered by the first Contractee and the reinforcers to be provided by the second Contractee.

A. Requirements (First Contractee's part)

.....

.....

B. Reinforcer (Second Contractee's part)

.....

.....

Signed 1st ..... 2nd .....

Date .....

Fig. 2. Contract Form

Initially it seems advisable to enter into brief contracts, ensuring that the pupil agrees to, and can complete, his part readily. Once the benefits of the procedure have been enjoyed, more substantial contracts can be entered into - but always emphasizing pupil success, as well as challenge. Many teachers are surprised at the motivating effect of this procedure, and at the small reinforcers that pupils agree to work or behave for; often things that are readily available in the classroom such as time to read, doing some self-chosen activity, or even the chance to complete a different piece of work.

I have seen contracts entered into with a whole group or class. Here completion of work can be rewarded by some activity that is enjoyed or valued by the whole group. I have been impressed at the pupularity of quiz types of activity, which can in any case be geared to useful school work.

The spirit of behaviour modification is one of experimentation: not to take any procedure on trust, but to try things out, monitor the effects carefully, and change anything that does not seem to be working as well as it could, in order to get the best possible results. I hope that some teachers, who have not yet tried them, will try out the possibilities of using contracts.

THE HUMANISTIC MODEL

The humanistic approach represents a number of movements in psychology and education during the last 20 years, which emphasize that it is the development of the whole person that should be our endeavour. Many of the ideas are far from new, and there is a strong element of revolt against the predominant thinking of this century, represented by the behaviourist and psychodynamic approaches. Some of the key names, such as Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow have become associated with the so called 'counter culture movement', and in so far as they stand for the dignity and rights of the individual against the all-powerful state or faceless bureauocracy, there is some justification: but they also stand for the responsibility of the individual to others and to society. Patterson (1973) and Valett (1977) have written introductions to humanistic education and point out the implications for the teacher.

Central to the humanistic approach is the self concept of the child: the way he or she sees and regards him or herself. Purkey (1970) has summarized copious research into the way that the self concept is related to achievement, adjustment, behaviour and so on, especially at school, but elsewhere too. Although it is not a single entity, in so far as we may have high self esteem in areas where we know we succeed, and low self esteem where we have failed, nevertheless there does seem to be an overall coherence, and success or failure in one area will have a general effect, which is reflected in other areas, especially if it is experienced frequently.

Adolescence is a time of dramatic change in identity or self concept. From being a child, within a few years one has to realign oneself to being an adult, with all the charges in responsibility, independence and behaviour that this entails, and in the face of external pressures that alternately pull backwards and push forwards. During this time the self concept seems to be particularly vulnerable, and teachers need to be aware of the impact of school and classroom practices, and even the things they say, on the development of the young adult self concept. One moment pupils may feel that they are expected to show adult sense and responsibility, and the next they are treated like little children.

There are now many American books giving activities and exercises aimed at improving self esteem in the classroom. I have found the one by Canfield and Wells (1976) to be useful. Children of different ages and background enjoy many of the activities suggested, and they can lead to well motivated written work as well as a good climate in the classroom Wooster and Bird (Chapter 15) give some examples of the sort of thing that can be done with these techniques.

Values Clarification

Sidney Simon has focussed on one aspect of the concept of self: the development of personal beliefs or values, and he and his colleagues have worked out a curriculum for what they call Values Clarification (Raths, Harmin and Simon, 1978). They see the process of developing values as having three stages:

a) one has to choose a value, and this choice should be made freely, and not forced on one by others; the value should be chosen from a range of possibilities; and the choice should be made in full awareness of the consequences of holding that value,

b) the value should be prized, which means that one is happy with the value oneself, and happy to tell others,

c) a value should be acted upon, not just once, but consistently.

Classroom activities for each stage are suggested, some oral and some written, for individuals, small groups and whole classes. In cold print many of the activities don't look as if they have much to offer a class of reluctant learners, and some look merely like space fillers and diversions. But those that I have used myself have stimulated children's interest and involvement, and much good work has been produced as a result. In addition the activities seem to improve the classroom atmosphere, with children getting to know and to respect each other. I don't know what the effect would be if children did these activities on a regular basis, and the novelty wore off. Simon and O'Rourke (1977) report beneficial results from one full year's programme with a class of disturbed children. But it has to be admitted that there is as yet little hard evidence for results of the type presented by the behaviour modifiers.

CONCLUSION

The challenge is for us to be able to use whatever we find to be of value from each model. To an extent this becomes an empirical exercise, selecting here or there according to the current situation, need or even whim, and according to our past experience. However I believe that there is a better chance of success if one has some understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of a procedure, and the reasons for carrying it out.

Very often the approaches of different models are very similar, especially to such problems as anxiety, low self confidence and withdrawn behaviour. But there are times when one seems to be faced by conflicting prescriptions for action. For example, when dealing with an aggressive child, the psychodynamic approach seems to suggest that one should provide an outlet for the internal pressure, and allow the child to express the anger and hostility until it has been sufficiently released. But social learning theory warns that if aggresssion is found to be rewarding in some way, whether by the attention gained, by the gains made by superior strength, or even by internal satisfaction, then the aggressive behaviour will be strengthened; and the right procedure is to stop the aggression

as quickly as possible my making the consequences unpleasant enough. Although this is an oversimplified caricature of the situation, it does not seem to be too untypical of the dilemma in which many teachers find themselves after listening to the advice given by workers of different persuasions.

Each individual teacher will have to resolve this dilemma for him or herself. Children are individuals too, and different approaches may well apply in different cases or at different times. The important thing, it seems to me, is to assess the effects of a procedure carefully, and if it does not seem to be working after a fair trial, we should be willing to try something else. We can so easily get stuck with a technique that seemed to work once, and remain blind to subsequent failures.

Each of the approaches touched on in this paper has something of value for the teacher, both in terms of providing understanding of problem behaviour, and in suggesting practical measures to deal with it. Awareness of these possibilities should extend the teacher's repertoire, and increase her or his potential effectiveness in providing the best possible education for the children in our schools.

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ADOLESCENT BEHAVIOUR AND TEACHER STRESS

Anne Jones

What amazes me about most of the current discussion about teacher stress is that it focuses on teachers' conditions of work and the problems of society. Scant attention is given to the problems teachers feel in terms of their own personal and professional development. Extrinsic factors are blamed for any stress. Little or nothing is made of the fact that working with adolescents is in itself a challenging and difficult task, which is intrinsically stressful, dynamic, unpredictable, uncontrollable and two-way in its effects. As this fundamental concept seems to be largely unrecongised, it is hardly surprising that at a conscious and deliberate level teachers give little energy or time to turning this inevitable conflict into something creative which promotes healthy growth. Rather, a great deal of teacher energy (and stress) is put into denial of the fact that their pupils, their very 'raison d'etre' are neither adult nor child. Like Autolycus we would seem to wish to do away with 'the age between' as if this would make our lives easier. Unfortunately to succeed in this is not only impossible, it is also a stale, flat and unprofitable exercise. My fear, when I see young people who are apathetic, switched off and bored, is that we might have succeeded to some extent. There is no escaping the fact that secondary school teaching involves working with adolescents; inevitably adolescents challenge adults' values, norms and sense of identity and of adulthood. A school where there is none of this would be, in my view, a dead school. Yes, adolescents are unstable and unpredictable to an extent. Adolescents - normal adolescents - are alternately mature and childish, over confident and unsure, extrovert and shy, independent and clinging, optimistic and depressed, sensible and sensitive, uncontrollable and sheeplike: remarkably like adults in fact. They are also usually in their prime, strong physically, potent sexually, beautiful in body, clear in mind and pure in soul - or they can be if given a chance.

So why do so few teachers appear to accept this? If teachers could take up the challenge of adolescence - more confidently and wholeheartedly,then my guess is that teacher stress would be reduced, teacher satisfaction greatly enhanced and rather more important, these very adolescents would be better equipped to cope with life after school in what is also inevitably a fast changing, unstable and complex society.

But before I develop this end of my argument, I would like to spend some time looking at the teachers' own self-image; at the way in which he colludes with even feeds on the concept of teacher stress, and at the effects his own self-doubts, poor self-esteem and sense of defeated exhaustion can have on his performance as a teacher.

'Teacher stress' is now a very fashionable concept, accepted as part of the teacher's way of life by the public at large and even by the teachers themselves. Reasons for the stress are usually divided into three kinds: those relating to life outside school, those relating to the way the school is run, and those relating to the way the pupils behave. The stressed teacher has no difficulty therefore in finding people to blame for his condition. Life-outside-school can be blamed for loading the teacher with too many responsibilities and not enough power; for not providing enough money for teachers and resources, for building schools that are too big and impersonal. The School itself can be blamed for poor organisation, bad personnel management, lack of leadership and (simultaneously) not enough participation and democracy. The pupils can be blamed for being noisy, aggressive, disruptive, violent, or alternatively passive, absent, unresponsive and unmotivated.

Thus the poor teacher can blame almost anybody or anything for his feelings of stress; it is not his fault. It is all happening to him or at him. He is the innocent victim of circumstances, and he feels very hurt indeed if the public at large does not realise what terrible pressures he faces, day in, day out. He feels this especially if they show no sympathy at all for the concept of the five and half hour day and no dinner duty. The teacher feels martyred, misunderstood and maligned.

Yet at the same time, the same teacher may feel persistently anxious and guilty. He may feel anxiety about whether he can cope, and guilt about whether he has done what he ought to have done; mostly he knows very well he has not, either in the classroom itself or in his lesson preparation. If he begins to let these complex feelings of being an inadequate victim get on top of him, his behaviour will then begin to reflect these feelings. He may become angry and aggressive towards society, school or home or alternatively depressed and withdrawn; taking it all out on himself. He may develop illnesses, often ill-defined feelings of malaise; he may himself truant by taking occasional days off or be late for school lessons, or he may himself indulge in deviant or disruptive behaviour in the staffroom as a kind of smokescreen to cover up the real problem, his sense of failure in the classroom. This is often a notable characteristic of the staffroom stirrer, or the teacher who puts more into union politics than the pupils. These can be displacement activities which parallel the deviant behaviour of the pupils, in fact they may provide a model for the pupils. When a teacher has low self-esteem, he will of course be caught in a vicious circle which only increases his stress. Every teacher knows about the effects of low or high expectations in the classroom, the effects of pupils' poor self-esteem on pupils' learning. But what about the effects of poor self-esteem on the teacher? Every teacher knows that his class will pick up instantly whether or not he is interested, bored, frightened or excited in a particular lesson. What we do not seem to have realised sufficiently as a profession is that our pupils and the public at large reflect back to us the way we feel about ourselves. So that if we as teachers feel demi-failures, unsure about what to do or whether we can do it this will be communicated out and reflected back. So the teacher who is very unsure of himself in his role, the teacher who feels inadequate will be putting out negative messages about himself before he even starts.

One of the reasons teachers may be unsure of their role is that it may have become too blurred and vast. In the 'good old days' the role of the teacher was to teach. In the last fifteen years or so he has had countless other roles thrust upon him. He is not sure whether he is a teacher, or whether he is really meant to be a social worker, a defender of moral values, a substitute parent igure, an authority figure, a friendly psychologist or a learning resource on legs. It really is too much to ask of anybody to be all this, particularly when these other tasks begin to swamp his prime task, that of being a teacher. The result, particularly for the conscientious teacher is role confusion, role diffusion, an inevitable sense of continuing failure and above all, loss of identity. In this amoeba-like situation, the teacher does not know who he is, he does not know where he begins and ends. This makes problems not only for himself but for those around him - it is not really helpful, even though it is meant to be.

We have to ask why does the teaching profession accept all these roles? Why do we think we can do so much when clearly we have neither the time, the role or the expertise to be all things to all pupils? The answer is not that we think we can do it, but that we think we should because we are as a profession fundamentally concerned and conscientious. If a pupil needs help we feel we should try and provide it, otherwise we feel guilty. Yet this 'care' is mistaken, and teachers' guilt ultimately self-destructive. If teachers must feel guilt, let it be about doing something which is not really part of their job, which distracts them from their real job, and which someone else could do more effectively than them. Why are so many teachers so hesitant to define the boundary of their identity as teachers? Why do we not set limits to our role? This does not mean that we need do nothing - what it does mean is getting someone else to do something, which is of course, often more difficult. The more we pick up the bits for parents, social workers, or whoever, the less they are able to take up their roles. Teachers need to reaffirm their identity, their pride in their role, their confidence that they have something worth teaching and then their pupils would be able to respond to them better, they would learn more, and I suspect that many of their 'behaviour problems' would disappear. In the recent ethos of intellectual non-competitiveness there have been too often too many rewards for pupils who are problems, for they too easily get attention, and not enough for pupils who are good learners. If teachers concentrated on learning difficulties more than behaviour problems, there would be a dramatic improvement in their self-esteem, their job satisfaction and in the learning outcomes for the pupil. I suspect that one of the positive and unexpected side effects of the dreaded economic cuts will be to help teachers to concentrate less on behaviour problmes and more on learning problems.

However, at least the teacher who suffers from role diffusion and consequent self-fragmentation has hope - he believes that he can help the pupil. His position is not as negative or depressing as that of the teacher who accepts the assumption that if a child has serious socio-economic-psychological problems, then there is nothing to be done. Relatively few teachers admit to this view overtly, but it is conveyed to the pupils by low expectations, acceptance of every piece of excuse making from the

pupil, and lack of demands, or challenges on the pupil. When teachers behave like this they are, whether they realise it or not, implicitly subscribing to an assumption that schools are useless, have no effect on pupils' lives and therefore are no more than child-minding agencies, rather unseccessful ways of keeping children off the street. Fortunately Rutter's work in South London (Rutter et al., 1979) has shown that in schools where pupils have the same background factors, nevertheless the outcomes for the pupil are different, according to the ethos and attitude of the school itself. Further what he has to say about positive attitudes to learning, high expectations, rewards for learning, and teachers taking up their role as teachers, underlines further the points I have already made. Schools do make a difference and teachers make a difference, their job is worth doing and it is worth doing well. If they happen to work in a difficult catchment area, then they have to come to terms with that fact, they need to have realistic expectations, not feel guilty if they don't succeed with everybody but at least to have tried. Pupils have choice about how much they take from school: in the last analysis they have power and choice about whether or not they learn.

However another source of stress for the classroom teacher is a lack of a sense of achievement, progression or progress. And if the teacher feels this, no doubt the pupil does too. Not only does a stressed teacher have difficulty in defining his role, he also has difficulty in defining his task. If he has an idea of task it is too often in open-ended,general,all embracing terms, which sound marvellous at first glance, but which are almost impossible to achieve let alone measure. The movement against assessment, measuring, grading, and testing which swept through the teaching profession as part of a protest against an over exam-orientated curriculum has brought its own set of problems. In spite of his egalitarian idealism the non-judgmental classroom teacher still has a pretty good idea of how his pupils rate, but he dare not put this to the test, or even worse tell them how they are getting on in case he offends their sensibilities, labels them, makes them competitive, or puts them down. The result is that he carries a permanent anxiety about assessment, yet in spite of himself he still conveys his 'hunch' judgment to the pupils, a judgment which may be even less fair to the pupil than any test. Pupils are competitive, they do like to know how they are getting on, realistically, and they need to know in order to set themselves learning goals. The teacher who is able to set achievable practical short term goals for his pupils, and then assess whether or not they ahve been reached is going to get much greater job satisfaction because his pupils will too. It is a strain for the teacher and the pupil, if everything is open-ended, unmeasurable and apparently unattainable.

The next strain which the teacher too often puts upon himself comes when he is not able to use his authority or leadership in the classroom. This is another aspect of finding it difficult to take up the role of teacher. When this happens it arises partly from a confusion between 'authority' and 'authoritarian', partly because of an overswing to 'child-centred education' and partly from the teacher's own ability to cope with authority. This teacher again is afraid of damaging his pupils by being too 'strong' for them. The outcome may be unfortunate in that the pupils are not able to use their authority and leadership constructively either.

Further if they have a 'weak' model of an adult before them, it is difficult to rebel. When pupils destroy a weak teacher they feel very guilty and bad. The problem for a teacher who is strong is to allow the challenge without either being 'walked over' or having to resort to crushing tactics back. To cope with this situation constructively is one of the most difficult and sensitive points for a teacher to learn. It is also one of the most important.

The next symptom which appears to me to be a great source of teacher stress is the 'do-it-for-you' rather than 'do-it-yourself' syndrome. This is often related to resource based learning, badly implemented and eptomised by the ubiquitous worksheet. It is also related to a desire to help the pupil, smooth his path, make it easier for him to learn. However the result is too often the teacher as slave and the pupil as bored tyrant. In this situation, instead of making demands on the pupil, instead of challenging the pupil, the teacher does all the work for him: he probably spends his evenings predigesting the worksheet materials and worrying about whether he will get through the next day. In the lesson he can be seen rushing about 'servicing' the pupils with materials, so busy that he hardly notices the quality of the learning process and get no further than 'survival'.

'Let the teacher take the strain'. But does that really help the pupils? Why not let them do the work? Are they really incapable of reading books. What a negative assumption! And if that is the case, doesn't that need working on, explicitly? The 'teacher as slave' syndrome is an over reaction against the 'teacher as tyrant'. But in the long term it is equally unhelpful. Not only does it wear the teacher out and stop him from having enough recreation and leisure, it also is not very helpful for the pupil, who is put in a passive-dependent role just at the stage when he needs to learn to be independent, and is full of active-energy and idealism. The pupil who is not challenged, the pupil who cannot engage actively with the learning process switches off and becomes 'bored', no matter how 'exciting' the material is. The pursuit of 'relevance' is a seductive but blind alley.

Of course the classroom teacher under stress can very often point to 'the system' and describe the way the organisation of the school causes him strain. In particular he will cite poor timetabling, constant room changes, constant lesson/class changes, lack of continuity, inadequate resources. Very often he is right. My experience, however, is that even if a school removes these major sources of staff harrassment, the member of staff will still feel stressed if he has not come to terms with his role in the classroom. In fact he may feel <u>more</u> stressed if he has to face this instead of blaming the organisation: that is the moment when he needs help, if only he can admit it. This is of course is another problem in teaching: despite all that has been written and done about team teaching, relatively few teachers do work as teams, share their experiences, admit their difficulties to each other. Some members of staff will always find this difficult because of their basic personality. They can be helped to overcome this natural blockage if the overall ethos of the school is conducive to learnings. If the Head or Head of Department can share their difficulties as well as their successes, it is easier for other members of staff to do so.

Another source of stress for the teacher comes if he does not really understand what the school as a whole is trying to do, how the parts fit together and what his role in that whole is; moreso, if he is excluded from making a contribution to the way the school operates. This has been called the mushroom syndrome: in the dark and covered in shit. To get over this syndrome is more complex than it seems at first. Some teachers have such problems about accepting authority that they do not come forward and join in, but prefer to keep themselves back so that they can complain. This has to be a two way process. However, what will be crucial to the teacher's understanding of his role within the school itself will be much more complicated than whether or not he has a role definition, or whether there are regular consultation meetings. These can be devices for keeping a teacher out, even though they sound participatory. What is crucial is whether the basic system is primarily concerned about power and control (the survival of the hierarchy) or whether it is about learning and development. When the classroom teacher is faced with any extreme of managerial behaviour, he is going to feel stressed and confused. So he will feel stressed if there is over rigid hierarchical control, equally if there is none; if there is a 'work to role' mentality, equally if there are no role definitions; like the pupil, what he needs is a structure which is not a structure, a system which allows for some flexibility. My view is that senior management staff are primarily teachers, not administrators, with a key role as teacher trainers. My observation is that in most schools administration and paper-work too easily take over: a kind of 'busyness syndrome' which sometimes has as its rationale the maintenance of the heirarchy in 'important' work. Indeed there is a sense in which a senior staff may need to create problems to keep themselves busy. When teachers are stressed they do, of course, often get angry. The problem here is to enable the teachers to get their anger out in the right place about the right issue. Too often anger is displaced onto some other body, either statutory (the education office, the child-guidance clinic), an authority figure (usually the Head), a pupil or even the unsuspecting spouse or child of the teacher. Although it may seem stressful at first, a school in which staff can ventilate their anger without recrimination or guilt will be ultimately a healthier and less stressful place. This also goes two ways: 'toujours la politesse' which has been a managerial excuse for not telling staff the truth about their performance as teacher, is, as with the lack of pupil assessment, often a misplaced kindness. If schools are really interested in staff development, they have to find a way of sharing staff appraisals which is realistic and which helps staff face and work on their weaker points. When the Head, or the Head of Department, has grave reservation about a member of staff, he will know this without being told. Half-truth does not fool anyone and often causes stress. Truth, put-constructively can be a point of growth. Much more important than the actual structures or mechanisms for all this is the style in which they are done - ' not what you do but the way that you do it'. Exercising authority can be positive, not doing so can be stressful; setting limits or being angry can be a sign of caring. The stress comes when there is a double message, or a negative message behind a positive statement: for example, the usual one to pupils is 'we trust you but we lock the doors and won't let you take books home'. Teachers are as sensitive to negative expectations and lack of trust as pupils are, and this can cause great stress. The classic teacher example

of this is when young staff feel reluctant to account for their actions, or get permission to do something: the question is whether their reluctance is justified because the hierarchy are trying to stop them in some way, or whether the hierarchy is simply trying to keep tabs on what is happening, in which case the young staff have an authority problem.

So far I have mainly touched on the stress the teacher feels in the classroom or in the school in relation to himself, his identity and his concept of role. But what of the teacher as a person in that role? And dare he examine his own identity? There is after all a sneaking suspicion around, and one which teachers often share, that teachers are rather immature as a breed because they have never left school. This myth goes something like this: the teacher is simply an overgrown adolescent who leads a totally sheltered life, who has no idea what the reality of life outside school is. Whilst there is truth in this statement it is not the whole truth, and if the teacher guiltily swallows it lock, stock and barrel, he is only adding to his sense of inadequacy. To think of the teacher as a cardboard figure who has no roles outside the classroom is certainly something pupils do to their teachers and teachers to their Headteachers: but if we collude with this we are certainly going to increase the strain and become more remote and inaccessible. Teachers like any other workers have roles as spouses, parents, citizens, friends, sons and lovers; they have homes and active hobbies. In fact, if only they would relax more and be less guilt prone, they have enormous scope for taking up leisure pursuits, or taking an active role in their community.

As for the 'adolescent' part of the teacher; yes this can be a problem but it can also be a strength. In any case I have never subcribed to the theory that only adolescents have mood swings and adults, at 18+ become suddenly mature, calm and tolerant. My experience is that on the whole adolescents are extraordinarily tolerant of adults, who seesaw about just as much as anyone else. Adults are not for ever on a kind of mature 'plateau' - neither should they be; otherwise they risk stagnation and decay. So in the sense that to me, adolescence represents hope, idealism, potential for growth and development and creativity, I hope that teachers will always keep these qualities. Certainly anyone working with adolescents needs still to be sensitive to responses within themselves, both recollected and current, if they are to work in a truly empathic way. The skill of using feelings and experience in teaching is one which not only helps pupils but also reduces teacher stress. This is a delicate area which can easily misfire if badly handled, which is why many teachers steer clear of it. But the teacher who sticks so firmly to his role that he denies himself as a person in that role is in a way colluding with the 'cardboard figure' syndrome. If he is trying to control and suppress a part of himself of which he is ashamed in some way, he may also be trying to control and suppress the pupils in a way which is not conducive to growth. I am not advocating that teachers should abandon all self-control in the classroom or indulge in wild ego trips with their pupils. What I am saying is that total denial of feelings is one of the symptoms of stress, and that to learn to work with our feelings constructively could release energy in both pupils and teachers. The problem is how to learn this skill. At Vauxhall Manor, for example, we have been having a series of drama workshops for staff in which we have been acting

out family roles and 'let out' some of our adolescent feelings in a safe place. Most of us have found this very helpful.

Why is working with adolescents so challenging? As I have already said the stress of the secondary teacher is caused in my opinion as much by a failure to recognise the nature of the challenge as much as anything else, 'the problem is not in our stars but in ourselves'. Adolescents challenge adults in every way. Some teacher's recognise and use this: I am struck now by the number of teachers applying for jobs at Vauxhall Manor who say that they miss the challenge of London children, meaning they do not actually like teaching passive, conformist, teenagers. But a lot of adult teacher time is spent squashing down challenges, denying them, ironing them out, trying to make everything smooth and controllable. And many teachers feel very panicky if things are 'out of their control' - this is the phrase used.

Adolescents challenge us on every score: they are a challenge to our authority and leadership, our adult identity, and particularly our sexuality, our hope and idealism. The more insecure we are about our validity, our identity, our sexuality, our viability, our usefulness, the less we are able to take on these challenges. Life these days - even if it was not, before - is certainly unpredictable, and full of changes which are beyond our control; we should be joyful if school reflects this situation, for it is how life is. If we are to prepare our pupils for life after school, there is no point in totally cocooning them, protecting them while they are at school. When a school does everything for its pupils it leaves them unprepared to cope with life after school; it also fails to use their energy, their desire to take responsibility for themselves and for others. Many of the pupils will opt out at this point either by truanting or by being totally passive or deviant in school. A pupil leaving full time education at whatever age needs to be able to stand up for himself, to cope with transitions, to meet with strangers, to work in a team, to use his energy and resources, to know how to get help from others if he does not have the resources himself. Do we really prepare pupils for this or do we spend our time protecting them from these difficulties? I am struck now by the amount of care, time and teacher stress which goes into helping pupils transitions - e.g. transition from primary to secondary school, from middle to upper school, from school to work. I think we do need to support pupils during these times - but they have to cope with them not us, our role is to help them make sense of what is happening for themselves, to help them by providing a secure reference point, but not by interfering or doing it for them. Adults find this role difficult - our tendency is to do all or nothing, whereas what is needed is something different. Certainly it does not help if when adolescents challenge us we are afraid to challenge back or are incapable of hearing what they are saying. Adolescents will rarely admit it but they are often terrified at the overwhelming freedom adults appear to offer them at times. On the other hand the 'caring' teacher may not allow them space to make mistakes, or organise aspects of school life for themselves and have to sort it out when it goes wrong. This may indeed reflect the way the hierarchy treats younger members of staff - if they have room to grow and learn for themselves so will the pupils.

There is something behind what I am saying which involves a basic assumption about adolescent behaviour. I do not personally believe that if young people of 12+ are not guarded every minute of the day, they will riot, be destructive of person and property, or 'escape'. I believe that pupils in school know perfectly well whether they are trusted or not. For example, I think that during the recent withdrawal of dinner duties, the reason our pupils behaved, if anything better than usual, was because they knew they were trusted; and that we were not afraid of them. Pupils are very sensitive to fear: when staff are frightened that something is going to go wrong then almost inevitably something will go wrong.

When staff are frightened, not only is this communicated non-verbally, but is also effects the nature of their transaction with the pupils. A frightened member of staff will confront instead of communicate will do something instead of waiting to see what happens, will provoke attack in a subtle kind of way; alternatively will run away from the situation leaving himself and the pupil full of unexpressed anger. Why do teachers get frightened? Partly the fear of getting out of control: this is as much a fear about themselves as about the pupils. Partly by taking things personally - by not understanding that this sudden unprovoked challenge, disturbance, arrogance from the pupil may be something to do with <u>them</u> and their own feelings, not necessarily to do with what is happening in the classroom. And partly because it makes teachers feel professionally inadequate - they 'ought' to know how to handle it, they 'ought' not to have this kind of scene in the first place. But then teachers are also afraid that other members of staff will know that they can't cope and a vicious spiral is set up. Fear cannot be eliminated totally any more than stress - but at least if teachers allowed themselves to understand more what is happening they would feel less stressed by it. It is never easy to have an adolescent totally flouting one's authority. But it really is not the end of the world if it happens - it really is not going to destroy anyone if someone says 'boo'. And funnily enough the less teachers are frightened about this the less it happens.

Another aspect of adolescent behaviour which is challenging is their great potency, expressed particularly in their sexuality. Their whole lives lie before them, full of hope. They need this hope and expectancy, and we need it in them for it renews us. What is so devastating is when this strength appears to be squashed out by economic circumstances, family conditions or teacher behaviour. Adults are often very jealous of young people at this stage, and teachers and parents in particular have to be aware to what extent their behaviour is a kind of reaction based on jealousy and lost hope, rather than admiration and inspiration. The teacher who happens to have difficulties in coping with his own sexuality will find it particularly hard to be provoked and challenged by the young. With the divorce rate now nearly at one in two, the teaching profession is bound to have its fair share of people who have had to face the making and breaking of a very deep relationship. This may be a strength to some teachers who may have learnt better from this how to cope with life - but again teachers attitudes to themselves and others are crucial here. If the teachers are having difficulty in expressing their sexuality constructively this may be a source of stress

for them; it will probably also affect the way they work with the young people in their care.

I have already indicated that teachers may themselves have 'adolescent' tendencies; more problems come when teachers get stuck in particular roles. What we have not yet looked at as a source of stress is the roles teachers take up within the staff group, the amount of stereotyping and scapegoating that can go on. A lot of research has been done on work with individuals and small groups, but less on large groups (Richardson, 1973). A staff group of some 60-70 is very large and difficult to take part in. First there is the question of enabling people to express their feelings rather than keeping quiet or only saying what they think they are expected to say. Second there is the question of projection, scapegoating and splitting. Do staff own their own feelings which are mixed and ambivalent, or do they allow other members of staff to carry them for them? So, for example, maybe the Head takes all the aggro, the rebel anarchist takes all the challenge and fight, the old diehard takes all the conservation, the Deputy takes all the disciplining, the trendsetter takes all the loving and so on. When this happens in the staff group it probably also happens in the pupil group. How can staff work with their <u>whole feelings</u> and take responsibility for them rather than splitting off bits of themselves on to other people, so that they are left as cardboard caricatures? This is not easy, but the more we can be whole persons in role, the more our pupils will be able to be the same.

It is not only in staff meetings that splitting, stereotyping and projection take place. The bouts of pastoracademic schizophrenia which can be observed in schools which have rigidly divided camps, pastoral and academic, are also hard for the classroom teachers to bear. In his subject teacher role he may be heard saying: "I will not have this pupil in my class". In his form tutor role he may be heard saying of the same pupil: "How can you reject a pupil with so many problems". Somewhere or other the twain must meet, otherwise the teacher will feel uncomfortably split down the middle. This further cause of teacher stress is one that needs urgent attention: the sooner we accept and work on the premise that education is a whole process and that you cannot split the intellectual and caring bits from each other, the more comfortable and effective we shall be.

I realise that in this short chapter I have touched on a number of important points which I think lie behind teacher stress: I have not elaborated these points much, neither have I provided any answers. Apart from obvious constraints like lack of time and space, my reasons for this are simple. My hope is that the reader will take up the points I have made and elaborate them for himself - think them through, check them out against his own fantasies, experiences, feelings and observations. They are not valid for all teachers or in all parts of the country. I am fully aware that I have over generalised. Yet I suspect that much of the caricature is recognisable. As for the answers, surely these are something each man has to come to terms with for himself - I certainly do not have them. I know that such things as a cohesive positive philosophy, clear and open management, a sense of direction and achievement, a simple

unobtrusive system, good interpersonal relationships, support for staff both individually and in groups can all help to reduce teacher stress. But my overall thesis looks to the teacher and his own view of himself. This is something he has within his own grasp. I suspect that we could do much more in schools to help each other with this - by mutual support, group discussion and activities designed to nurture, foster and develop our sense of identity and confidence.

But my view is that even as the situation now is, teachers do not need to feel quite so overstressed, insecure and guilty as they so often do - most of this is in the mind. I believe that teachers seriously underestimate their positive effects because they take too much negative backlash from other sectors of society. We need to reject this, reassert our belief in our role and our pride in our work; we are a valuable profession working in an area which is inherently stressful because that is what working with adolescents is about. We have no need to slave away all the time - our pupils can cope with doing much more. We have a responsibility as mature adults to see that we have balanced healthy lives, and that our spiritual, moral, intellectual and sexual needs are not 'sacrified' for the sake of the young people we try to help for this will not help them in the end. Our job does have limits, it does have rewards and we need not be afraid to have our work assessed. If we fail at times it is because we are human; if we fail at times it allows others to grow bigger and help us; if we have done our job honestly, genuinely and as well as we can, we should not worry. And if we do not like the challenge of adolescents, we should change our job.

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SECTION III

CURRENT PRACTICE

THE INDIVIDUAL STUDIES DEPARTMENT WHITECROSS COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL, LYDNEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Bryan Rendell

Early History of the Department

The school held a Staff Conference during the Autumn Term 1974, at which the last speaker was Mr. Ken Morling of Bognor Regis Comprehensive School. He had devised and set up a Unit to cater for those fourth and fifth years who did not fit happily into the normal school pattern. He and his team had produced a series of workcard units, based on documentary, book and audio-visual resources, which led eventually to a number of C.S.E. entries. Our staff agreed that his ideas seemed good, and might well be applicable to the problems Whitecross was facing with regard to many of the ROSLA children. After much discussion - both in small groups and full staff meetings - it was decided to set up a Unit of this sort at Whitecross.

The Buildings

The first problem was where to place the Unit. At Bognor it is housed in one long building, sub-divided into sections, with a central resources area. This was not possible in our school. Several possible sites were suggested, all to no avail as they required building operations beyond the budget available. Finally an area on the far side of the main playing field was agreed: this consisted of three terrapins and a long, disused hut that had been scheduled for demolition when the Comprehensive School was established in 1973. It was structurally sound but very dirty, and the floor consisted of broken wooden blocks and rough, deeply grooved, concrete.

One of the advantages of the site was its remoteness from the rest of the school, another was that it bordered on an old, mainly disused, cottage and the large garden surrounding it. This area also belonged to the school, though nothing had been done to it so far, as an elderly gentleman refused to leave his part of the cottage. For the purposes of Rural Studies, such an area of ground so close to the Department was ideal.

When the decision to establish the unit was taken there were only a few weeks left of the Summer Term, and the Unit had to be functioning on the first day of the Autumn Term. The old room had to be cleaned and repainted. The paint was provided by the school, and the pupils - who were to be the first fifth years of the New Department - slapped

the paint over walls, ceilings and themselves. Some parts of the ceiling have never received a second coat: the office ceiling never even achieved a first coat. The floor was not finished until 1977 when a store-room was also added to the Department, to make room for Options from the main school.

Equipping the Department

A sum of money was initially allocated to the Department, but it was decided that, as so little time was left, we would go all out for resource packs and books, around which workcard units could be built. At this stage of the Summer Term chaos reigned supreme. Whilst the children, under the supervision of the Head of Department, were painting, the Deputy was frantically trying to catalogue number materials and to fit in with the issuing system, collecting books from many sources and checking the contents of new books. A years work had to be crammed into one month. Further materials also came in during the holidays, and had to be fitted into the system before the start of the term.

The Department is very expensive to run because it is resource based. We tend to overspend so we try and get extra cash from the sale of pigs, turkeys, and chickens kept by the Rural Studies Department, and by the sale of our workcard systems to other schools.

Staffing the Department

The Head of the Department was appointed in Easter 1975, and the Deputy in September. If both had not already been working in the school, it would have been impossible to open on time and have work available. Both teachers had already been concerned with the majority of the fifth years who would be in the Department. Many of these had already dropped out of the school as far as interest and participation were concerned, and had "accumulated" in the Remedial Department even though many were of average, or above average, ability.

There are five full-time members of staff in the Department. All are concerned with all areas of teaching although they have their specialities, including typing, Environmental Studies, Geography and Rural Studies. The Rural Studies has been developed through the work card system and in the practical situation. Both are very closely related.

All pupils have to participate in the practical side, be it feeding and cleaning the pigs, killing and plucking chickens, or using a mechanical rotovator to dig the garden - or even being chased by the geese. Pigs are bought in as weaners and raised to about 140 lbs. They are then slaughtered, and the meat is sold to staff and pupils. Turkeys are raised for Christmas and chickens are raised from 'day old'. All profits go into the Department so that the Rural Studies is financially self-supporting.

The specialist teaching does not limit the staff concerned. For example, two of the Environmental Studies Units have been written by the Rural Studies Specialist, the History units by the environmental studies teacher, and the English teacher is producing one unit in

Humanities and one in environmental studies. This is, of course, in addition to units within their own specialities. This system adds to the efficiency of the Department as it allows teachers to write about their own interests.

Since September 1978 a number of changes have been made. The Deputy has been appointed to a new Department in the school called Alternative Studies which is an extension of our system into the main school Option Pattern. It gives the children greater subject choice and more flexibility. As a replacement a Mathematics Specialist was appointed and a Maths programme introduced throughout the Department. This was a facility we had realised was needed for some time and were glad to make positive steps towards providing it.

Selecting the pupils

Without doubt, although the term was never used, the original concept behind the Department was based on the 'sin-bin' idea. We didn't complain about this because it meant that we had support from some members of staff who might otherwise have been uncooperative. The idea of being able to get rid of troublesome pupils was a definite incentive to some staff. But the establishment of the Department and the results it has produced has brought about a change of mind, and the Department is now accepted as an alternative method of education, rather than a mini Borstal. Pupils are now selected on the following principles: (this is the official wording from the Options guidance document.)

a) Probable failure to achieve success within the classroom

b) Poor record of attendance

c) Need for remedial attention

d) General insecurity

e) Disruptive behaviour.

This guide to selection has been produced as a direct result of the work done in, and by, the Department and other staff seem to have realised that it is not just designed to hold the nuisances, but a genuine attempt to interest, motivate and educate the children.

Early Difficulties

These were many and varied. The main problem was containing the fifth year group for whom no total coursework C.S.E's were available. Many of these children had given up all participation in schoolwork some time ago. They were, in most cases put on to the English workcard system. This provided the necessary 50% coursework to allow them to take the main school Mode Three English C.S.E. Of these fifth years, over thirty out of seventy took at least one C.S.E. at the end of the year, several took three or more and two took six. The number of failures was low compared to the main school, and several Grade Ones were achieved. Of those taking no C.S.E's quite a few completed one or more of the workcard systems. Some enjoyed doing this, despite having no qualifications to show at the end or it. But the lack of an actual

certificate-type aim was a strong disadvantage for this group (in their opinion, not ours). The work available was interesting enough, but we kept hearing the same refrain - "What's the point?" You could talk about the benefits of knowledge for its own sake until you were blue in the face, but they felt it was useless unless they earned something with that knowledge.

The school runs a work experience scheme whereby children in their final year can go and work in approved jobs for up to three days a week. This undoubtedly helped enormously in the first year in giving them (and us) a respite from school. It is interesting to note, however, that we have very few out this year, and then for one or two days at the most.

Absenteeism has fallen considerably as well. Although it was bad in the first year, it was still better than it had been for most children in the years before they entered the Individual Studies department.

During the first year of setting up the department a lot of time had to be given to the preparation of workcards. They were researched and produced in the evenings, and hurriedly photocopied next morning. It was a situation of just keeping one step ahead of the pupils. Now we have enough workcards to offer choice within each C.S.E. area.

Pupils' work - what do they actually do?

All the workcards are available from filing cabinets in the main Resource area of the Department. The workcards are periodically reviewed and brought up to date. Having decided which workcard system is best, the first workcard is taken away and completed. There are two types of workcard. One contains all the major information required to answer the questions on it. The other refers to another resource - an information sheet or a book which has to be collected and used. The child reads the information, with help if necessary, then answers the questions on the back of the workcard. Some of these are straight comprehension questions, some demand use of other resources, some demand thought about the implications of the information given. As most of what a teacher would say to a class is in written form, this gives the child the opportunity of going over the information more than once, and releases the teacher to deal with individual queries as they arise - and arise they do. A grasshopper mind is a definite advantage for the teacher, who might well have to answer questions on volcanoes, reproduction in frogs, spiny plants, the building of Stonehenge, the changing shape of castles, steam coaches, Assyrian war weapons or space travel, all in the space of ten minutes. One of the advantages of this though, is that the child learns that teachers too have to look things up. It is impossible to know all the information for all the workcard systems. Each of the systems has a topic section within, or at the end of, the set. This is for the child to research himself, with only minimal help from the staff. Wherever possible, field work is included as well. (For example, the collection of mosses from various environments.) Each pupil has a personal section in another filing cabinet in which completed work can be filed safely away.

Each completed unit is bound with a plastic spine and stored in the office for marking. When three sections have been completed they, together with the file of individual work necessary, make one C.S.E. submission. It therefore depends on how well the child works as to how many C.S.E's they submit. Quantity is not the main aim, however, and the great advantage for some children is that they can take time and trouble and complete high standard work. At first they were allowed to choose whether to work on one C.S.E. at a time, or on several at once, but experience has taught that it is much more satisfactory if they work through one at a time.

There are now five total coursework C.S.E's available in the Department, four of which have complete workcard systems - English, Environmental Studies, Geography, History and Rural Studies. In a typical C.S.E. entry for the Environ-Studies Unit, a pupil must complete the workcard sets on 'The Story of the Earth', 'World of Animals', 'World of Plants', an individually researched folder and must take three multi-choice recall tests under examination conditions, one on each of the completed sets. The examinations take place immediately after Easter, to encourage Easter leavers to stay on to submit their work.

As well as the total coursework C.S.E's the pupil may take other options within the main school: Maths, Woodwork, Metalwork or Needlework are the most popular of these. Art, Typing, English Literature and Home Economics are available as part of the Department and lead to a C.S.E. if desired. A number of pupils attend the local Technical College for one morning a week for link courses in Child Care and Motor Engineering. Also, the Integrated day gives great freedom to develop practical work such as Rural Studies field work and associated fringe activities such as camping, road safety, visits and canoeing.

In 1977, for the first time, we took a number of single option pupils from the main school. These came to us for one option a week and worked for one C.S.E. (or more if they were really good workers). This helped to fill a definite need for those children who do not find any of the usual options appealing. However, since the introduction of the Alternative Studies Department we do not take pupils from the main school. This was why the Alternative Studies Unit was set up - to deal with children who drop out of options halfway through the courses.

The work for the English C.S.E. is used mainly in the fifth year because we have discovered that the reading and writing which is necessary to work on other C.S.E. areas improves written and spoken English generally. So, as a separate discipline, English is not required until the actual entry requirements have to be met. It is always available though, and many like to work on it during the fourth year. An additional 'Story Hour' is now being considered, due to the interest shown by the children in this type of presentation.

In order to overcome the problem of testing recall in a total coursework C.S.E., examinations of some sort have now been included in all the submissions. Most have a multi-choice recall section - History has essays under examination conditions and English has both Compre-

hension and Essay questions, again under examination conditions. All of these are taken within the Department. There has been no objection raised to this by the pupils, in fact they seem to like being treated in the same way as candidates from the main school, although going out to take exams has not been welcomed. One child went down with asthma and had to be taken to the doctor, and another had a migraine, on the only day they had an examination in the main school. We have come to the conclusion that they do not feel at ease in a return to a situation where they have already been failures.

The Remedial Child in the Department

If asked just what we do for remedial children within the Department, our reply could well be "we ignore them". Whilst not being completely accurate, this has a core of truth in it, and the reason for this has a story behind it. When the Department opened in 1975 we used basic units, which were graded in difficulty. 'Who am I?' was the easiest, and 'Physical Man' was the most difficult. 'Where in the World' being somewhere between the two.

It was intended to begin the work with the simplest and move on to harder ones. They were written at the end of the term and sent to the Resource Department for duplication during the holidays. When we returned a week before term began, we discovered that the duplicator had broken down and only one had been completed - Physical Man. That was the making of the Remedial Children. Having to start with the hardest unit must have been like meat after bread and milk. They took to the diet and thrived on it. They needed help, of course, and they got it - as much from their peers as from the staff - but they were doing the same work as the others. And that is how it has remained. We have mostly abandoned ideas of special work and remedial reading tuition. They had to cope with words on each and every workcard. They could get help when they needed it but they were able to work at their own speed and were given time to complete every piece of work they started. It would be difficult to say which of these reasons was the most important, but the fact is that they have worked, taken pride in their work, and have not been any different to their peers. Although some of their work may not be C.S.E. standard, some definitely is. They have a tremendous pride in their work, their reading and writing has improved, and they appear to be happy with the system. In exceptional circumstances special remedial help is given. Gone is a lot of embarrassment.

Pastoral Care

I feel that the Pastoral Care System that operates in Whitecross School is the best I have ever come across. This has been capitalized upon and improvements added in the Individual Studies Department.

When the Individual Studies Department opened we ran two systems. The fourth year pupils remained the responsibility of their own House while the fifth year pupils were the responsibility of the Individual Studies Department. This caused many problems of communication and pupils were able to play the system. It was decided that all pupils in Individual Studies should become the total responsibility of that Department.

Pastoral care permeates now the whole working situation as the staff are akin to a tutor who has his class all the time. All staff are aware of home backgrounds, physical disabilities or other problems that the pupils have. Much discussion takes place and help is very positive. Links are truly forged between pupils and teachers. We liase with and have direct contact with The School Doctor, Social Services, Police, Probation Service, Juvenile Bureau, Parents, Educational Psychologist, E.W.O., Housemasters and Staff. In the case of children on Work Experience we liase with the employers.

An extension of the Pastoral Care System is a Social Service Scheme. We find that pupils gain a lot by helping others. Students visit the Senior Citizens of Lydney and help with gardening, painting, cleaning and shopping. Staff are actively involved and work in close harmony with the pupils and the old people.

Territorial Rights

The children choose for themselves which room they wish to work in, or which teacher they wish to work with. The majority become very territorially minded, and take a great deal of shifting if a room has to be closed for some reason. This attitude of the children also applies to feelings about staff. If another teacher, not a full-time member of the Individual Studies staff, takes over another room for any reason, some children will walk down to the main room to ask a question rather than accept a 'stranger'. This doesn't last for long and usually the interloper is eventually accepted; but only if they are regularly within the department. Any of the full-time staff are accepted in any of the rooms. By giving the child a choice of room and teacher, you give yourself a lever. Any child not working well in the room of his choice is threatened with a removal to another room and this threat is carried out if necessary, even under protest. And it usually works. Once the child has settled into a satisfactory work pattern, they may return to the room of their first choice if they wish, and as long as the work is satisfactory. Many stay put in the room they were placed in. Perhaps their unsettled behaviour was due to someone in the first room, and the change was necessary.

Access to more than one teacher is essential. You can't like everyone, or expect them to always get on with you. Choice allows clashing personalities to separate without loss of face on either side. The ability to choose both room and staff, and the close continual contact gives teenagers security they need, and cannot always find out of school. To those who feel this is 'featherbedding' the children too much, remember that you have a home to go to, where you can relax and feel secure! Many of these children do not.

Discipline

This is both easy and strict. The general atmosphere of the Department is friendly, and jokes and comments are freely exchanged. But there is a line which the children learn we do not ignore. Insolence and bad manners are not tolerated and this includes working so noisily

that no-one else can get on. During the first year, discipline was downright physical at times, including restraining violent pupils and breaking up fights. This is rarely needed now, but they know that this is still there if needed. The cane is available, but rarely used - the last time was when a boy put someone in danger of severe physical injury. The Head of Department is a strong disciplinarian, if and when that is needed, though members of staff deal with their own problems as they arise. It is felt that one of the reasons that the Department can run in a relaxed way is because the children are well aware that the rules are there.

The bright child. This may seem a strange thing to list as an essential, but it is true. As a purely remedial area the Individual Studies Department wouldn't work. But, because the bright child is there, and working on the same basis, the atmosphere of work encourages the less able child to reach new heights. As very few children are on the same workcard, or even the same system, competition as such hardly exists. What matters is that you do the work well and to the best of your ability, not how many workcards you can get done in a day. In other words they compete against themselves.

Enough work is essential. No child must ever be able to say that they have nothing to do. That doesn't mean that they should never do nothing, but the work must always be available. And it must always have an AIM. This is not our choice but theirs! If it doesn't count towards a C.S.E. of have some other definite aim, they don't see the point in doing it. We may not see this as a good view, but it exists. As many of our pupils do not take part in physical education we have a games session during the last lesson two or three times a week but only if they have worked well. This includes table tennis, chess, draughts, Scrabble, reading, cricket, rounders and moped lessons.

Present difficulties. Mainly TIME. Time to write workcards, do the filing, check on resources and photocopy workcards. These things get done, but in a rush or at home. We have worked out that it takes roughly four hours to produce a workcard, including research and typing. Luckily we all type - at varying speeds and with a range of accuracy. We have no secretarial help at all. Things have improved a little - in the first year we had no preparation periods. This year we get one or two a week, if nothing else crops up. The workcards that are produced are not worksheets. Worksheets are lists of assignments to be completed after the lesson has been taught. The workcards that are used in the Department are structured, written lessons providing opportunity for study at the pupils own pace with continual back reference to the lesson material and ample prompting (via assignments) for the able pupils to research further. Thus all levels of ability are catered for.

Marking. There is a tremendous amount of marking involved in total coursework C.S.E's. The amount of work produced is remarkable and all of it must be marked. If it is put off as we did when we were still writing workcards, it is a very daunting prospect to survey a room full of booklets all awaiting marking. This year we have introduced a more

formal examination into the course. A selected number of workcards are marked as a standard, and marks awarded accordingly. The bulk of the marks can still be gained from good coursework produced throughout the two years but the examination gives the potential Grade 1 - 2 candidate a chance to prove themselves.

As was noted above, Ken Morling at Bognor Regis had one enormous room, sub-divided into sections with a central resources bank. This would be a great help, especially in poor weather. Few children really feel so desperate for work that they will venture out into a storm in order to change a workcard of a book. This would also make preparation periods easier, as one teacher could cover two areas at a time in these circumstances, whereas under the separate rooms arrangement, this is impossible.

We have our failures of course. One child has been expelled as he refused to conform to any rules at all. One has been transferred to a Unit for Maladjusted teenagers, several have been suspended for short periods but have usually returned to school and settled down. There are still a few - very few compared to the first year - almost perpetual absentees, but on their rare visits they seem to enjoy it and work well: it just seems that old habits die hard.

One of the great strengths of the Department is the way that the staff have blended into a team: aims and methods are worked out by all of us. Everyone works from strengths of their own, knowing that the team will support any weaker areas.

Finally, one of the nicest things is to sit and read the report of a child sent to us for constant misbehaviour and wonder if it is the same child we have come to know. Judging by our experience, the great majority of these 'awkward' children are perfectly prepared to work, if the teacher will get out of the way and let them get on with it. I will admit that I was dubious about the idea of using workcards all the time. But it works - why, I cannot say. However, we do have far more individual contact with these children, who are apparently doing endless workcards with no "proper" teaching, than we ever had when we spent all our time talking at them. There are other ways of giving information than talking and our job is to deal with each child and the problems that block his or her education. With this system there is time to do this.

The Resource which has not yet mentioned but which is perhaps the most powerful of all, is that of the ability and commitment of the staff. The alternative method of education we use is very demanding. Staff are on the move continually, visiting pupils who need help, cajouling unwilling workers and supporting inadequate children. In our situation one cannot just give out work and sit back and let them get on with it. The teaching situation is not too stressful but at the end of the day fatigue does start to show.

We have been visited very frequently be Advisors and H.M.I's. Everyone seems impressed and have been very supportive - vocally and financially. It is through them that our scheme is now beginning to be used in other schools in Gloucestershire.

If you are interested and require more information come and visit us, there is no better way to explain.

A POSITIVE REWARDS SYSTEM

C. W. Milburn

I was appointed to my present position as Master-in-Charge, Lower School, when the School was opened in September 1973, as a fourteen-form entry, 11-18 co-educational Comprehensive, based on the amalgamation of an existing Boys' Grammar School and a Secondary Modern. It is housed on two sites, some 800 yards apart. Lower School, houses years one and two while years three to seven are based in the Upper School. The present roll of some 2000 pupils, covers the whole spectrum of academic and social groupings and is drawn from five main feeder schools.

Socially the school is sub-divided into four houses organised on a horizontal structure in the Lower School and a vertical structure in the Upper School, with the registration form as the basic unit. Academically, the school is organised for the first two years, in three broad bands of ability. In year three, setting is introduced, and this is extended in years four and five to give a wide choice of options for examination entry. Eighteen Advanced Level Subjects are taught in the Sixth Form, which at present is some 150 strong. This must be very typical of many large schools throughout the country.

Since its inception in 1973, the school has prospered. Examination results, at all levels, have been well above the national average. Parental response, interest and co-operation is of the highest level.

Why then, if the school was functioning so well, was it necessary to introduce a Merit System of Rewards into the Lower School?

Many of the valid criticisms of the large Comprehensive School arise from the difficulties created by size. Take for example the terms of reference as far as my own function in the school is concerned. My duties in the Lower School call for me to establish an organised and civilised community with sound standards of work, conduct and personal appearance as well as being responsible to the Headmaster for the academic, moral and social welfare of the pupils. To help me achieve this I have the services of two Year Tutors, who are each responsible for the welfare and pastoral care of approximately four hundred pupils.

Administratively and theoretically, three staff may be sufficient to carry out these duties but from the practical point of view it is asking the impossible when one considers the amount of personal contact with pupils which is necessary in order to make the exercise successful. This must be the experience of many staff in large schools who are responsible for the welfare and pastoral care of pupils. Often they find themselves in the same position as many subject teachers, who again

because of the number of classes involved, experience a remoteness from the individual pupil.

We are all as teachers aware of the 'good' pupils as opposed to the 'bad', the 'gifted' as opposed to the 'remedial', the very courteous and well behaved as opposed to the disruptive. This still leaves a great number of children who are not outstanding in any way and who attend school regularly and punctually and always give of their best, but are only recognised by attendance marks in a register or rather meaningless comments in the end of term school report. It is with this group of children in mind that I felt it was essential to have a system which involved the employment of as many staff as possible in this important task of 'getting to know' each and every individual scholar.

Another problem often encountered in the large school is the maintenance of a code of discipline that is recognised and adhered to by all. The danger is that mainly punitive methods of control are used. This was evident when in my own experience, I often found that the school assembly could easily deteriorate into an opportunity for pupils to be harangued about their behaviour. This always appeared to be a very negative approach because the aversive methods employed never seemed to be a very effective method of controlling behaviour. Certain behaviour could be stopped by the use of criticism and showing disapproval, but the use of these methods of control does not ensure the pupils will engage in more desirable alternative behaviour. A child in the classroom situation who is punished for constantly leaving his seat and walking around the room may stop after he is punished, but this does not mean he will then engage in the more desirable behaviour of attending to his studies.

It was my intention, in introducing the Rewards System, to show staff that more positive methods of control, achieved by the use of praise and approval, would have more long term results than those gained by using aversive techniques. This does not mean that disapproval, criticism and punishment are no longer used as methods of control. They are still employed and found to be most effective when there is potential danger as a result of certain behaviour or if the learning situation is being disrupted.

Closely allied to the problems of discipline are the difficulties encountered when dealing with the less able pupil. I am referring to the total lack of motivation which leads, in these children, to frustration and often later to disruptive behaviour. It is, in the main, with these pupils that behaviour has to be shaped. This is more likely to be successfully achieved by the use of positive reward and praise rather than by demanding obedience or appropriate behaviour through use of punishment and threats.

It was then with the aim of being more constructive in approaching some of our problems or difficulties that I introduced a Positive Merit System to the Lower School. It is often suggested that such systems are ideal for small establishments and that because of the different

circumstances of large institutions, they are too difficult to implement. This however, need not be the case and I hope this example of a positive, flexible approach is an indication of what can be achieved.

The manner in which the system was introduced both to the staff and pupils has played a significant part in its success. When this was done, expecially with staff, technical jargon referring to behaviour modification techniques was kept to a minimum and it was simply introduced in terms of how people may respond if they are rewarded. Basically this means that if a behaviour is rewarded, or followed by a reinforcing event, it will be likely to increase in frequency of occurrence; if it is not rewarded, it is likely to decrease in frequency. In this type of approach, the development and maintenance of behaviour, whether desirable of deviant, can be viewed as an outcome of social interaction and the interplay of reinforcers dispensed by important figures in the child's life - teachers and parents.

In the context of the classroom, behaviour modification provides techniques or methods that facilitate learning and these can therefore be regarded as adjuncts to existing teaching skills.

HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS

In the first year all classes are time-tabled for two tutorial periods in a Friday afternoon. In the second year the two more academic groups are given one tutorial period while the less academic group retains two periods. Though the system is for all the pupils in the school, one of the reasons for its introduction was to encourage pupils who are not well motivated and so this group gets the extra tutorial period in the second year. Friday afternoon is time-tabled as tutorial time as this allows the staff to review the week's performance with their classes which in effect makes them play a very much greater part in the overall pastoral care of the children. During these tutorial periods the children choose the rewards their behaviour has earned, therefore these periods form the crux of the system.

A member of the class is elected to carry round to each lesson a hard-backed folder in which the Merit Mark form is placed. The teacher taking the class for a particular lesson may award merit or de-merit marks (see Table I). The teacher awards merit marks for appropriate behaviour, and these are placed on the form using the code for subjects as shown on the Merit Sheet.

Although space is provided on the sheet for de-merit marks, staff are fully aware of the importance of the stress to be placed on the positive side of the scheme rather than the negative. It is important that teachers are also aware of the importance of marks being given with reference to the 'norm' for the individual. Therefore a pupil may be rewarded for some improvement in his work or behaviour even if when compared to the norm for the class, his work or behaviour may still leave a lot to be desired.

Table 1 - Merit and Demerit Marks
Individual Awards (Use code on marks sheet)

Merit Marks

a) Very good work: neatness, content, keenness and industry.
b) Class participation: oral work, answering questions etc.
c) Sustained effort and concentration.

Demerit Marks

a) Unacceptable behaviour.
b) Untidy and careless work (below the norm for the individual).
c) Failure to complete homework.
d) Lateness for lessons.

Individual Attendance and Punctuality (to be completed by Form Teacher)

100% Attendance = 3 marks
Punctuality = 2 marks

Weekly Class Performance

Attendance
100% = 15 marks
½ mark deducted for each absence per session.

Punctuality

10 marks minus No. of latecomings.

Subjects: award a mark, out of the maximum allowed, for the following points:-

a) General tidiness of classroom: arrangement of desks and chairs, absence of litter in room and corridor etc.
b) Overall class behaviour and response during lessons.
c) Behaviour while awaiting staff between lessons, in classrooms or corridor.
d) Class arriving at room as one unit.

N.B. (i) H.E./CRAFT/P.E. Mark alternate weeks for boys and girls.
(ii) Space is provided on the back of Marks Sheet for specific comments on individual or class performance.

The timing of the reinforcement is very important. The maximum effect is achieved when praise or a reward immediately follows the desired behaviour. The teacher who awards merit marks throughout the course of a lesson is delivering much more effective reinforcement than the one who waits till the end.

Not only are individuals rewarded but the class performance is also noted. This is designed to emphasise to the pupils that the class

is a unit and that the unit's performance is important. This part of the merit system operates as in the following example.

A teacher taking History with a class for three periods a week gives his assessment on the merit sheet at the end of the third lesson. The teacher gives a mark out of five as to the overall performance of the class (see Table I). English and Maths are marked out of ten because of the greater number of these lessons in the curriculum. Each Friday the class marks for the subjects are totalled together with marks for attendance and punctuality, and the total for each class is displayed on a specially designed board in the main entrance foyer of the school. This mark is very important to the class because it is the main factor that will determine the rewards to be given during the tutorial period. It is because of this, that there is often considerable peer group pressure on individuals to conform. Also on Friday the marks for each individual are totalled, adding extra marks for good attendance and punctuality. The totals, including de-merit marks, are then displayed on a class chart which is permanently on display in the classroom. During the tutorial period, each Friday the Merit Mark Sheet serves as an introduction to the session. The class tutor summarises the performance of the class as a unit as well as the individual performances within it. No set goal in terms of a fixed number of merit marks has been laid down. A very flexible system operates and each class tutor sets his own standard for the class based on their capabilities.

The rewards are determined by the class performance during the week and negotiations between the class and tutor determine what that reward shall be. The most effective reward is normally one which has been suggested by the pupils themselves but experience has proved that they need to be guided in the matter of choice. It was with this in mind that a list of suggestions was given tutors as to possible rewards (see appendix 'Suggested Activities for Tutorial Periods). It was stressed that these were only suggestions and creative additions to the list are always welcomed. As far as individual pupils are concerned, the year tutors collect the merit sheets each Friday and produce, for the following week's assembly, a list of individuals who have performed especially well and their achievements are acknowledged in front of the school. The house system is also incorporated into the scheme. The House which achieves the highest number of merit marks each week, is awarded a cup which is displayed in the school foyer. Also, the top class in each house group is recognised with the award of a shield, which they display in the classroom.

Those pupils who do not reach acceptable standards in their work or behaviour miss the class reward session on a Friday and spend their time instead with one of the year tutors in the School Library. Here, the pupil is given a constructive assignment which involves using the resources available. This is not a punishment, the only punitive element is that the pupil can be deprived of a possible reward. A pleasing feature of this part of the scheme is that the percentage of pupils having to be dealt with in this way is very small and also that the same pupils are not repeatedly in the Library Group.

CONCLUSIONS

This is a system which can be easily adapted to suit the particular needs of any school. Its implementation is quick and very inexpensive but the rewards can be very satisfying. This has been particularly so in the case of Southmoor Lower School. There has been a great reduction in the need for the use of corporal punishment. It is in fact reserved as punishment for cases of vandalism and instances of abusive behaviour towards staff. Although attendance and punctuality has never been a problem in the school, built in to the scheme is a positive reminder to the pupils of the importance of regular and punctual attendance.

The operation of the system, while aimed at the pupils, also brings rewards for the staff. The children's enthusiasm has had a general effect on the school spirit and has made the teacher's task more enjoyable. It has also been a constant reminder to staff of the importance of using the good teaching techniques which are incorporated within the scheme. The merit sheets, with their marks and comments, which are filed throughout the course of a year have proved invaluable to the year tutors and myself as a source of information regarding the overall picture they give concerning individual and class performances.

Finally it is important to state that the success of any scheme is directly related to the planning that precedes implementation allied to the enthusiasm and commitment of the staff. If this is established then the scheme will be found to be a valuable tool in improving behaviour, attendance and motivation in a large educational institution.

APPENDIX - SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES FOR TUTORIAL PERIODS

1. BOARD GAMES

Scrabble	Snakes and Ladders
Cluedo	Draughts
Ludo	Chess
Monopoly	Chinese Cneckers
Card Games	

Nine Men's Morris (Instructions for making this game are available)

Suggestions for playing these games

a. Knock-out competition - using one of the games.
b. Progressive competition - moving from one game to another. Child scores points, add up points at the end of the session to find the winner.

2. WORD GAMES

a. Spelling

Boys v. Girls
Individual tests
Challenge competition to find the "Master Speller" of the class
Making words form Master word
e.g. Constantinople - tin, pole, tan
Vocabulary building
e.g. The name of a river T....s Boy's name P..l
Group spellings - given in advance 5 rivers
5 books etc.
Extra points are given if no one else suggest the word or words given by a child
Anagrams

b. Word Squares

O	B	A	N	O	T
R	A	N	C	H	O
A	P	D	E	E	P
N	E	L	U	D	O
G	R	O	U	P	T
E	A	G	L	E	S

1. How many words can you make in a straight line from this word square.
2. Clues can be given so that the children have to find specific words.
3. Write all of the words down outside of the square - children have to ring the words within the square.

c. Crosswords

1) Made by children or teacher
2) Give clues only OR fill in crossword and ask children to supply clues.

3. ORAL WORK

a. Words Association

One child says a word - Blue 2nd child says 1st word that comes into his head e.g. sky etc. The words progress - Blye-sky, sky-bird, bird-nest.

b. My Mother went shopping

Children start off, "My Mother went shopping and bought a cake", 2nd child repeats this and adds another item - and so on, until each child has added an item onto the list. Children have to say all of the items that have been mentioned before their turn.

c. Story Making

1) Each child says a sentence e.g. "One day whilst I was walking in the park ....." Next child adds another sentence repeating previous sentence. This goes on until last child recounts the whole story.
2) Give a list of objects e.g. Chair, book, fire. Children have to tell a short story using these objects.

d. Alphabetical Adjectives

1st child - I have an adorable dog.
2nd child - I have a big dog.
3rd child - I have a 'cool' dog - and so on.

e. One Minute Speeches

1) Subjects given by teachers or children. Each child writes down a subject; subjects put into box, each child picks out a subject.
2) Speeches can be given 'on the spot' or time can be given to prepare the speech.

f. Descriptions

1) Verbal description is given of person or object without giving the name. Class has to guess the object or person.
2) Can be done on class or team or individual basis.

g. Balloon Debates

1) Three historical people in a balloon. e.g. Nero, Marie Antoinette, Madam Curie. One child represents each character.
2) Each character gives reason for staying in the balloon - children vote who goes out of the balloon first.
3) Remaining two give further reasons - children vote again. Character remaining is the winner.

h. Use of Tape Recorder

1) Can be used for recording poetry speaking, plays etc.
2) For improving diction.

4. BLACKBOARD GAMES
   a. Battleships
   b. Hangman
   c. Table work) Numbers 1 ½ 12 written on board
      Clock Tables) Choose number of table e.g. 5 x - point to numbers e.g. point to 6 - 5 x 6 = 30

5. DRAMA
   a. Mime)
   b. Charades) Give title or brief outline of story
   c. Improvisation)
   d. Video and film equipment is available on loan from the Teacher's Centre, Faculty of Education, Sunderland Polytechnic (St. Michaels Buildings, Gray Road off Ryhope Road).

6. GAMES ADAPTED FROM T.V.
   a. Recordings of titles from television programmes. Children guess titles on a team or individual basis.
   Cassettes and tape recorder are available from School resources.

   b. Celebrity Squares
      1) Draw 9 squares on the blackboard
      2) Choose 9 children to represent each square e.g.

Julie	John	Sally
Bryan	Christine	Andrew
Denise	Tanya	Avril

      3) Choose 2 children Miss X and Mr. O.
      4) Miss X chooses a square. The question is answered by the child in the square. Miss X agrees or disagrees with the answer. If she is right an X is placed in the square. If she is wrong an O is placed there.
      5) Repeat process with Mr. O. Continue until X or O has a complete line. (like noughts and crosses).

   c. Call My Bluff
      1) Prepare 3 different definitions of a word. 2 bluffs, 1 true.
      2) Definitions are given, children have to decide which one is true.

   d. University Challenge (Using general knowledge questions)
      1) Boys v. Girls
      2) 'Starter' - ask one question. Whichever team answers first is asked three questions.
      3) After the three questions another 'starter' is asked.

7. PROJECT WORK
   a. Class Newspaper
      Class write articles, draw pictures etc. Paste onto card or sugar paper.

b. Local Government

Study of the structure and working of Local Government.
Divide class into groups to tackle each aspect.
Possible visit to Civic Centre.

c. Local History

Divide into groups - combine with visits to Museum, old buildings, docks etc.

d. Nature Project

Study of local flora and fauna. Combine with visits to local parks, seashore, Washington Wild Fowl Park.

e. Manufacturing Processes

Coal (Mine to fire)
Milk (Cow to bottle)
Wool (Sheep to wollen jumper)

8. SPEAKERS

1) Talks from parents/friends who have an interesting job/hobby/pet.
2) Could be related to project work - miner, historian, Policeman, Fireman.
3) Information on talks by staff from Vindolandia and Hadrian's Wall; Talks last 1 or 2 periods.
   'The Senior Teacher'
   Vindolandia
   Bardon Mill
   Hexham
   Northumberland

9. PREPARATIONS FOR MORNING ASSEMBLY

1) Children prepare own material - plays, songs, prayers, readings - written by children if possible.
2) Take one main theme or special occasion

Advent	Love
Christmas	Friendliness/Good Neighbours
Easter	Forgiveness/Charity
Harvest	Sacrifice/Courage

10. CRAFT WORK

1) Model making - competition to find the best.
2) Class decorations (posters/friezes).
3) Toys etc., for Christmas presents.
4) Christmas decorations - calendars/cards

suggested materials (collected by class)

Toilet roll tubes	Cardboard boxes
Bottle tops	Egg Boxes
Sweet papers	Tin Foil
Yoghurt pots	Silver paper
Margarine pots	Wallpaper
Wire	Cotton wool
String	Wool
Scraps of material	Newspapers
Magazines	Tissue paper
Crepe paper	Card

11. LETTER WRITING (to develop skills of communication)
    1) Japanese Penfriends (12 years and over)
       Details available from Mrs. A. Smith.
    2) Correspondence with children from other schools arranged by staff's contacts.

12. USE OF HALLS, GYMS AND FIELD
    To be organised on a house rota basis
    Notice in Staff Room

	Tyne	Tees	Trent	Thames
D. Hall				
A. Hall				
Boys Gym				
Girls Gym				
Field				

Second years - period 8
First years - period 7

*Form teachers to decide which classes are eligible to use these facilities.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

1. Disco
   Organised by class (development of organisational skills)
2) Drama and Play-acting
   Rehearsals and actual productions
3) Games and Skills
   Relay races - jumping, skipping, hopping, running.

ISLANDS/PIRATES

a. Use skipping ropes to form islands/dry land.
b. Children run around gym, whistle blows; children have to run onto Island. Last two people are out.

FISH IN THE SEA

a. Children sit in a circle facing outwards.
b. Children are given names of fish - Cod, herring, mackerel, plaice.
c. Name of fish is given. e.g. 'Cod in the Sea'. All the children who are cod walk around the circle.
d. Children walk if "The sea is calm".
   " run if "The sea is rough".
   " turn around if "The tide turns".
   Children return to their places - "Fish home" - they cannot change direction to get back to their places.
e. Last child home is out.

CAT AND MOUSE

a. Divide into groups of four.
b. Three form a circle, fourth stands inside the circle.
c. Choose one cat and one mouse.
d. Mouse must evade the cat.
e. Mouse can run into a circle - then other mouse must run out of the circle.
f. If mouse is caught they are out.

INDOOR HOCKEY

a. Divide class into two.
   Face each other in two lines Number 1 - 15, 15 - 1.
b. 2 rounders bats and a bean bag are placed in between the lines.
c. A number is called. The two children run for the sticks and try to score a goal at the end of their own line.

Badminton/Table Tennis/5-a-side Football.

THE FUNCTIONAL INTEGRATION OF REMEDIAL PUPILS

Anthony C. Capron

INTRODUCTION

In the 1940's streaming was an integral part of the school system. There was a desire to evaluate pupils' progress through the school system and this evaluation was reflected in the type of school, or the stream within a school, in which a pupil was placed. In 1897, Circular 397 was published by the Education Department and suggested that there should be separate classes and special grants provision for the least able. In the following year, revised instructions from the Education Department stated that "no difficulty should be put in the way of the honest classification of scholars according to capacity and attainment". Since this time there have been many arguments over streaming and mixed-ability with a distinct swing in favour of mixed-ability. Davies (1975) suggests that this ever increasing trend towards mixed-ability is based upon the realisation that streaming has many undesirable side effects. He suggests that the onus is on those who use streaming as the organisational lynch pin of their schools to prove their case. Davies also raises the question of what is to be done with remedial pupils in secondary schools and asks how the segregated method of educating the remedial pupil can be evaluated against more integrated approaches. Davies, himself believes in early extraction based upon individual needs and the increasing integration into regular classes at school as important objectives for remedial pupils. He states, however, that this answer is 'intuitive' and that very little research work has been carried out into the best organisation for remedial work. There have been warnings about streaming and the danger of putting the least able pupils in a bottom stream, but the problem of finding research work to show how best to organise remedial work in comprehensive schools remains. As late as 1971 the Department of Education and Science stated that there is within many organisations to help the less-able pupils, uncertainty about aims, objectives and methods, and for the remedial child the uncertainties are obvious: uncertainty about the nature of their potential, about the nature and extent of their abilities, about the most appropriate organisation, about suitable educational methods and techniques and the nature of a suitable curriculum. Three years later, the editor of Remedial Education (1974) complained, with regard to remedial education and its organisation, that very little has been published. Brennan (1974) lists an extensive bibliography on the definitions of the less-able pupil, on materials and techniques for helping these pupils, but makes the point that he is unable to help with a bibliography on the organisation of education for the remedial pupil. The Bullock Report (D.E.S., 1975) recommends that there should be early screening procedures and additional assistance for the retarded reader

but makes no suggestions on how to organise this help. The Warnock Report (D.E.S., 1978) suggests that many remedial departments fare badly in terms of premises, equipment and staffing and states that these need to improve if schools are to function effectively for the benefit of pupils with moderate learning difficulties. The report describes three possible forms of integration: 'locational', 'social' and 'functional'. These are described as not being discreet, but overlapping where each provides a framework for the provision of special or remedial education. Locational integration is defined as existing where a special school and an ordinary school share the same site. Social integration is where children attending a special class or unit eat, play and consort with other children, and possibly share out-of-school activities. Functional integration is the fullest form of integration and exists where children with special needs have the closest possible form of association with other children and join, part-time or full-time, the regular classes of a school and make a full contribution to that school. This type of integration clearly requires careful planning of classes and teaching programmes to ensure that all children benefit whether or not they have special educational needs. Warnock (1978) makes several broad suggestions for the organisation of functional integration, but there are, in addition, many detailed practical implications for this type of organisation in a large secondary school.

The ultimate aims of a remedial or a special education department in a comprehensive school must be both academic and social in nature and the process by which these aims are achieved must centre on aspects of behaviour modification. There are many ways of inducing changes in behaviour, but on close examination it can be seen that most contain a common element - that of good social relationships. Bandura (1969) contends that psychotherapists offer their clients support which does not necessarily require technical professional training. He suggests that clergymen, doctors, teachers, solicitors and similar societal agents can help in many situations through the simple offering of friendship. However, Bandura (1969) also states that simple supportive friendship is not always enough to modify poor social behaviour and that special learning conditions must be arranged along with the supportive friendship schemes. Bijou (1975) agrees with Bandura when he describes his special organisation for learning but goes further to say that all classes should have certain features in common. He describes these as a motivational plan based on positive (extrinsic and intrinsic) reinforcers that are meaningful (functional) for each child; programmed instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, language and related studies, and teachers skilled in 'arranging conditions' so as to encourage academic and social learning.

The problem of arranging conditions and the lack of detailed information for this process has been discussed. However, arrangements that are made must be specific to the school involved. Thus, it would seem reasonable to suggest that a remedial, or special education, department in a secondary school must first study itself and decide if its aims and objectives are being achieved through its current organisation or whether a different form of organisation would be better.

If the decision, that change is necessary, is made, then the selection of a set of accepted educational concepts upon which to build the new or revised structure must be undertaken.

In a recent investigation of this type Capron (1978) came to the following conclusion:

a) The intuitive approach to departmental organisation was not a sufficient basis for segregating remedial pupils.

b) As segregated remedial pupils progress through the school they tend to adopt increasingly anti-social behaviour, increasingly hostile attitudes towards their more able peers, and to indicate that they are in favour of being taught in their own isolated units rather than being mixed in with the regular classes.

c) Standards of basic academic achievement are too low.

As a result, a decision was made to monitor the work of the writer's remedial department for a year and then implement a new organisation of remedial classes in the school to ascertain whether the segregated or functional integrated type of remedial organisation was better for the pupils. The main conclusions of this study were that integrated (functional) organisation leads to a higher level of social and academic skills than the segregated type of organisation. The integrated structure included the following special features:

a) A resource room equipped for the teaching of small groups of pupils in Mathematics and English.

b) Programmes of work which were individual to each pupil.

c) Extra help to maintain low teacher-pupil ratios.

d) Systems of behaviour modification for better social and academic learning.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION

The aim of the present organisation of remedial work in the writer's school has been to organise the school life of the remedial pupils in such a way that the downward social trend and the unsatisfactory academic performance of these pupils is prevented in their first years at school. It is hoped that the pupils will ultimately want to work in the mixed-ability situation, and will adopt a positive role in the corporate social life of the school. On intake from the local junior schools three remedial pupils are placed in each form. The remedial pupils attend all regular classes, but are withdrawn from English if help is required in English linked topics, from Mathematics if help is required in basic Mathematics and from French if further help in English is needed. This means that if a pupil is remedial for mathematics then his integrated mixed-ability lessons total thirty five lessons per week, if the pupil is remedial in English only, his mixed-ability lessons total thirty two lessons (out of forty) per week, and if help is required in both of these subjects the pupil has twenty seven mixed-ability lessons per week. This structure allows for

maximum integration. Particular attention is given to the life of the remedial pupil when in the regular class situation and a 'befriending scheme' operates throughout the year to help modify each pupil's behaviour in this situation.

A large room is used for withdrawal work. This work is 'clinical' in nature catering for pupils who have failed for most of their school lives. The organisational objective of this arrangement is based on the work of Becker and Engelmann (1972) and designed to get more learning going on in the classroom. More specifically, the organisation is based on their 'University of Oregon Follow Through Model' which has six basic components. In what follows, each component is discussed in turn with particular reference to the way it had been incorporated into the organisation at the author's school.

Component 1. : Increased manpower in the classroom

It was decided that if a pupil is to maximise his attention in the learning situation then the ratio in the normal remedial class of one teacher to fifteen or twenty pupils is not good enough. Therefore the help of paraprofessionals has been enlisted, including non-specialist teachers and older pupils from the sixth form. The paraprofessional is perhaps best described as another person working with or for a person who is professionally trained to teach. However, the paraprofessional seems to have been viewed with mixed blessings in the teaching profession. Schools which lack teaching machines and sufficient equipment tend to view the paraprofessional as an economic dream. Viewed by the parent the paraprofessional could appear as a poor man's substitute. Viewed by the unions the paraprofessional is seen as a threat to status and job security. However, Sherman and Harris (1975) have documented details of research which supports the employment of paraprofessionals and O'Leary and Becker (1967) indicate that this extra help can be of considerable benefit in the elimination of poor behaviour in the school situation, can assist to a considerable degree in maintenance of work towards specific target behaviours, can increase attending behaviours and can help in improvement of academic achievement. Bronfenbrenner (1970) discusses paraprofessionals when he compared education in the United States with education in the Soviet Union and reports that the Soviet Union appears to have made better systematic use of peer tutors to help in the social and academic education of pupils than many other countries. In the author's school a staff-ratio of no more than one teacher to six pupils has been aimed for. At times the ratio has been as low as one teacher to three pupils. Additional staff have been gained by the following methods:

a) A full mixed-ability situation results in the freeing of remedial staff from the teaching of other subjects not taught in the 'clinical' resource room.

b) Some non-remedial staff simply show interest in taking part in the scheme - it has often been possible to gain ten extra staff in this way.

c) A sixth form option now exists (called the remedial adoption scheme) and this provides additional help through the use of

older 'peer' tutors. The older pupils are carefully selected from those who hope to take up educational or social work in the future.

Guidance is fundamental to the work of all the extra helpers. How this is given will be seen in the discussion which follows, but one of the first items that the non-remedial specialist sees in each individual programme of work is a preface note which states how the paraprofessional is helped in the classroom (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

IMPORTANCE PREFACE NOTE

There will always be a specialist member of staff on duty for each programmed lesson. The tasks of this specialist will include the following:

1. To take overall charge of the proceedings.
2. To give advice and direct the tutors when necessary.
3. To make the required initial diagnosis and monitor the progress of the pupils through testing and occasional marking.
4. To ensure that the ongoing system progresses efficiently.
5. To deal with unforeseen problems, e.g. behaviour, lack of equipment, an unsupervised group, programme changes or staffing problems.

Component 2. : There must be structured daily programmes of work

The second principle on which the Department's organisation has been based is that there must be structured daily programmes of work as the gaining of additional help will not necessarily ensure that more learning takes place. Therefore, each remedial pupil is provided with his own file which contains all the work to be completed before he can return to full-time regular classes. This file is kept in the resource room and in the pupil's own locker when not in use. All sections of the files are freely available for inspection by all staff as well as the pupil. The first page of the file shows the details of the pupil's withdrawal time-table. This time-table is in essence a weekly appointment system which provides information about the topic to be taught in a specific lesson, from which lesson the pupil is withdrawn, the name of the class teacher in that regular class, the day, the lesson number, the name of the person teaching the withdrawal group and the basic equipment to be used with the group. A master time-table for all withdrawals for the whole week is also displayed to ensure that no pupil or member of staff has any doubt regarding details of the pupils in his group, from where they have come or the subject or the topic being taught at any time.

Component 3. : Lessons must be programmed to ensure that teaching personnel know what is to be taught and in what sequence

Personal files contain all the programmes of work which a pupil is expected to follow with his group tutor. These programmes are devised

in such a way that the pupil starts just below an ascertained level of competance in any particular topic and, as work is individualised, each pupil works from a point of success. All the programmes ensure that the paraprofessional helpers receive the maximum possible assistance. They leave the tutors in no doubt about what is to be taught and in what sequence. The programmes are written with five basic elements, suggested by Becker and Engelmann (1972), in mind. These are:

a) Concepts must be clear. It is considered essential for the remedial pupil for the formation of concepts to be maintained at a simple level.

b) The task of the paraprofessional is a very difficult one in an unfamiliar situation. Thus the teaching programme must indicate how the teacher should go about his or her work so that there is no doubt about the content of the lesson or the methods to be employed.

c) In all teaching programmes skills must be sequenced so that the pupil can proceed one small step at a time. The attempt by a teacher of remedial pupils to make too big a jump in the pupil's pattern of progress nearly always results in failure. Fundamental to remedial work is the teacher's ability to recognise the steps necessary for the building of knowledge.

d) Programmes must ensure that skills are sequenced so that the teacher is dealing with no more than one skill at a time. Many of the problems of the remedial pupil result from the fact that they have tried to master complex skills while having to take into account other skills at the same time.

e) Programmes of work must include the general case so that pupils can master concepts and operations that can be applied to many situations. In Mathematics in particular an attempt is made to teach the general case.

Component 4. : There must be a monitoring of the progress of the pupils

The progess of monitoring includes pre-assessment, the monitoring of progress, and post-assessment of results. This assessment also includes the assessment of classroom behaviour, social development and academic skills. The assessment commences with the pupils 'present' state. Bateman (1964) stresses the importance of determining the level at which a pupil is functioning so that one can decide where to begin instruction. Bijou (1975) argues that the teacher is the best person to obtain such data because the teacher then gains valuable knowledge of the child response to undertaking tests. He suggests four methods of gathering information:

a) Direct observation for the gathering of social and academic information in the form of written documents.

b) Interviews with parents, teachers and other interested parties.

c) Standardised tests to gain objective social and academic information.

d) Behavioural inventories and surveys which are a mixture of the above three methods.

Continuous assessment yields information about programme adequacy, including teaching materials and teaching method. Diagnosis of progress is continuous and systematic and testing devices are compatible with those used in the initial testing. Bijou and Grimm (1975) describe three techniques which can be used in the diagnosis of progress. These techniques are the monitoring of the work output, the pre- and post-testing of any sub-programmes within a programme, and the recording of direct observations of behaviour. Such recordings or direct observations of behaviour can be used as a powerful motivator for the production of good behaviour patterns.

Of considerable importance is the fact that the gathering of information starts well before the remedial pupils arrive at the school. Social information is obtained through the use of a behavioural inventory and academic information is obtained through the use of standardised tests. The school also gains considerable valuable information at Care Committee meetings and Heads of junior schools are asked to meet the secondary school members of staff who have pastoral functions at the school as well as members of the various social agencies linked to the school. On arrival at the school likely remedial pupils are given further tests designed to fit them into the programmes of work.

Monitoring of progress is required within each programme of work. All the programmes contain sections for the insertion of the dates on which behavioural/academic objectives are achieved. The monitoring process within the programmes of work also contains records of work that must be completed at the end of every lesson. These records of work indicate the work completed on a particular date, the next step to be performed by the pupil and his work attitude during that lesson. With several paraprofessional staff assisting in the teaching of remedial pupils it is often difficult to keep track of the work done with each pupil. Therefore each section of work contains its own record of work to be completed at the end of each lesson for each child. The records are used for the following reasons:

a) To indicate gradual changes in behaviour and the maintenance of good behaviour.

b) The pupils know that the records are being maintained for every clinical lesson and know what is written on the record. It was soon realised by the staff that even the poorly behaved pupils do not like bad comments and are pleased when they receive good comments.

c) The pupils know that all attitude comments are produced for their parents to see when the parents visit the school or are visited by a member of the school staff.

d) It is quickly realised by the pupils that before transfer can take place to the regular mixed-ability situation sets of good comments have to be achieved.

Component 5. : There must be ensured efficiency in teaching

All the components and the elements ensure that there is efficiency

in teaching. However, to ensure that there is maximum efficiency a special procedure is fixed into the front of each file which is followed by all staff whether they are the special remedial staff or the extra paraprofessional staff helpers. This method is designed to ensure that the staff know the topic for a particular lesson, the stage of progress within that topic, the next step within that stage of progress, and the method for proceeding with the lesson. It also reminds the staff member that he must complete the record of work at the end of the lesson to give proper and full information to the next teacher taking the group. In this way pupils follow the programmes of work efficiently and systematically. Each file also contains a sheet which details academic objectives in all relevant subject areas. Other sheets at the front of each individual programme of work describe the philosophy of the scheme, state other requirements such as standards of tidiness which must be maintained by the pupils, and inform the teachers about such matters as the availability of materials.

Component 6. : There must be a continuity of training for the staff

It is very important that there is maximum departmental help with the training of paraprofessional staff. All staff are encouraged to attend in-service courses, to seek advice when needed, to take maximum advantage of the departmental library and to make use of other educational libraries.

The clinical structure which has been outlined above allows for the easy mainenance of satisfactory behaviour patterns from the pupils within the resource room situation. The low teacher/pupil ratios and the constant attitude records act as powerful motivators for good behaviour by each pupil. However, Wahler (1969) has shown that the generalisation of good behaviour patterns across boundaries is unlikely to happen and that the deviant pupil may act in a different manner when in the regular class situation to the manner in which he acts within the resource room situation. Therefore, it has been necessary to set up a reinforcing situation for good behaviour by the remedial pupil in the regular classroom situation. To this end a 'befriending' scheme has been devised to overcome the problem of generalisation of treatment effects across specific environments.

The scheme is based upon the following interlinking principles:

a) The idea that community members are significant to the child and are sources of positive reinforcement (Wahler, 1972).

b) That all behaviour modification schemes depend upon the utilisation of good interpersonal relationships (Bandura, 1969).

c) That the establishment of imitative repertoires of behaviour can be utilised as classroom techniques which will shorten the often long process of shaping in the establishment of new behaviours (Baer and Sherman, 1964 and Metz, 1965).

In fact, this befriending scheme for each remedial pupil commences in his final year at junior school. The Heads of each junior school are asked to match pupils to act as 'friends' to the remedial pupils when

they arrive at the secondary school. This matching is on a one-to-one basis with no strict criteria for 'friendship' selections. The scheme is explained to the friends and parental permission is gained before the matching is finalised. On arrival at secondary school the pupils are told to sit together in certain selected form based lessons and other academic lessons. The staff taking these lessons are instructed to ensure that this takes place in their lessons. The class friend is expected to assist the remedial pupil with any problems arising from the school organisation during his first few weeks at school. He is also required to give some general assistance within the class situation regarding the organisation of class work. The class friend is not expected to assist or act as a peer-tutor to the remedial pupil during lessons, nor is he expected to continue the friendship during the morning, lunch or afternoon breaks. The scheme operates for the first year at school but experience has shown that it often continues to operate unofficially to the end of the second year. The befriending scheme was organised in order that two linked objectives could be achieved:

a) The befriending within the regular class situation could act as a source of positive reinforcement for the remedial pupil.

b) The remedial pupil could imitate the repertoires of behaviour of his class friend and thus establish socially acceptable new repertoires of behaviour.

The scheme is monitored through regular class visits to ensure that the friends are sitting together in the appropriate lessons, the remedial pupils are also interviewed as are the befrienders.

CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made to outline a working model for the education of the remedial pupil where functional integration is the chief aim. It is realised that no one model fits all secondary schools and in all probability the one outlined only fits the school for which it has been devised, but in the school for which it was designed the scheme has been very effective in producing an amelioration of social behaviours. Pupils are now much better behaved when in the vicinity of classrooms as well as in classrooms. They appear more willing to accept help from their peers and teachers, to work cooperatively in groups and often show a real desire to help others who are more-able or less-able than they are. In the groups studied it was found that reading, spelling and arithmetic skills improved more significantly under the integrated new organisation than in the old segregated special class type of organisation. Consequently many more remedial pupils are now being returned to full-time work in regular classes than under the previous remedial organisation. In fact, now our pupils with moderate learning difficulties appear to be a part of the school rather than apart from the school.

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COUNSELLING IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL

Elizabeth Doherty Jones

"Ride a cock horse to Banbury Cross" is a jingle that can still be heard in the streets and school playgrounds of this one-time market town. The famous Cross still stands proudly - albeit in the process of spring cleaning - at the interchange of roads that link Oxford with the Midlands, and Northamptonshire with the West. Banbury cakes are still a speciality in the bakers' shops, while its cattle market has expanded to become one of the largest in Europe. Somehow, one feels that the changes that have come about in this Oxfordshire town, so brilliantly described by Margaret Stacey in her sociological studies in the 1960's and 1970's, would not have found favour with the Fiennes Lady upon her white horse !

Since the 1930's, Banbury has witnessed an ever-increasing 'immigrant' population arrive, bringing with it associated changes in trade and industry. It now boasts a population of 34,000 with a projected increase to 43,000 in 1990. Housing estates fill the once green fields - the result of rehousing policies for Liverpool and London overspill populations. The social, economic and personal needs of its people have changed and no-where can this be seen more clearly than in the schools. In many respects, the special needs of some of the school population provide a mirror-image of these wider changes and reflected stresses in family life.

Banbury Comprehensive School, catering for 2,200 pupils is an amalgam of four previously existing secondary schools, three of which were on adjacent ground. The school is organised on a federal basis, and is composed of three Halls (Broughton, Stanbridge and Wykham), each admitting at least four forms of entry, and covering the first four years of secondary education. Each Hall contains approximately 500-600 pupils who identify very strongly with their Hall. An Upper School (15-19 years) for 650 students occupies new purpose-built premises, while an Annexe, Berrymoor, adjacent to the North-East Oxon Technical College, provides opportunities for the 120 fifth-year leavers doing link courses such as catering, agriculture, hairdressing and building construction.

Each Hall is directed by its own Head and two Deputies. The responsibilities of the Heads of Department, Heads of Subject group, Director of Studies, Home/School Counsellor, Professional Tutor and the Principal extend throughout the school. The Halls are not simply pastoral communities; they each contain the elements, at least, of the whole curriculum of care, counselling, and family contacts. (None of the areas of responsibility are designated to any one group and all

staff are involved in curriculum planning, pastoral care, guidance with option choices etc.). Each Hall has a staff of 20-30 teachers with their own staffroom so that there are staff in each Hall who represent all aspects of the curriculum.

Within each Hall all pupils are placed in mixed-ability pastoral care groupings - with a form teacher in the Halls, and a tutor in the Upper School. All pupils are taught in mixed-ability groups in the first two years, with some setting in English and Mathematics. There is a varied and extensive option system in years four and five. Professional guidance is offered in the third year to enable pupils to choose these options (seven out of forty-one). There is a recognised Careers Department operating across the Campus. There is a Special Educational Needs Unit in each Hall offering appropriate provision for ESN-remedial pupils, and a growing proportion of physically handicapped children.

I was appointed to Banbury School in January 1976 as a Home/School Counsellor, with a distinctive role consisting largely of individual work with pupils, family visits and liaison with all related services. This followed a period working as a Teacher/Social Worker in an Educational Priority Area school in London, and the completion of the University of Reading's Diploma in Guidance and Counselling. My previous teaching experience was in my home town, Londonderry, Northern Ireland. The appointment to Banbury was seen as a challenge, no less to myself as to the staff, and freedom was given by the Principal, to whom there was direct responsibility, to fashion the job in accordance with my own objectives and appraisal of the local situation.

The first task was to obtain a knowledge of the school - a formidable task! The second was to build up relationships both within and outside the school which would demonstrate, and establish with colleagues, professional credibility for the development of this kind or work.

WHAT IS COUNSELLING?

Counselling skills have been described and recognised since Socrates, although school counselling itself is still a relatively new idea. The movement began in England in 1965 with virtually no preliminary educational debate when the one year full-time courses of counsellor training at Keele and Reading Universities for suitably experienced teachers were begun. School counselling was "one outcome of the intention to improve the quality of schools or caring institutions with a responsibility for maintaining, protecting and promoting the personal development and well-being of children" (Daws, 1970, p. 4).

From the beginning the emphasis in school counselling was placed on its preventative and positive role - "Counselling is a service of vigilance and care whose responsibility extends to all pupils" (Daws, 1970, p. 4). It is meant to serve the personal developmental needs of all pupils, to increase their personal competence

and maturity and to protect them from the crippling effects of high and prolonged levels of stress although its relevance to disturbed children has been limited to facilitating their detection and referral to specialist agencies.

Hopson (1977) has given the most succinct definition of counselling. He says that "Counselling is helping someone to explore a problem so that they can decide what to do about it" (p. 31). In a school context, the someone can equally apply to the pupil, or to the teaching staff, parent or the agency who referred the pupil in the first place. Counselling means "helping people to understand their own motives and reasons for actions so that they can come to their own conclusions about what they will do, and how they can do it: it means helping them to define their needs and discover what resources are available to them to work out the best ways of making and sustaining satisfactory relationships with others" (Lovel, 1976, p. 94).

The person is central in counselling, not the problem. The problem becomes part of the decision-making process which in turn helps the person to a clearer self-understanding. For a student in school, or indeed at home, this can indeed offer the only forum he has for exploring himself - and it can be perceived of as luxury or as a self-indulgent activity!

We have become preoccupied with the notion of adequate and proficient levels of person functioning - one of the criteria for assessing pupil's needs would appear to be: "Is he/is he not 'coping'?" I feel that in schools, we are becoming more sensitive to evidence of pupils' unhappiness, personal ineptitude and malfunctioning. Moreover, many schools are strongly motivated to do something constructive long before the signs have reached psychiatric or delinquent prominence. That is the climate in which my own appointment was made.

Counsellors on the early training courses in Britain were very much influenced by the ideas and work of Carl Rogers, an eminent American psychotherapist. His non-directive approach to counselling with children was a method that many teachers early on in their counselling training found difficult to assimilate. One tutor on a couselling training course maintained that she found the first six weeks of the year's course excruciating - it took students that length of time to forget that they were teachers. Because of the extensive requirements of classroom work many teaching colleagues do not readily, or easily, listen to children, nor have they developed the ability to observe their total behaviour to understand all that it conveys about them. It is not only a problem for teachers; some parents experience the same difficulty.

In recent years much has been written about whether counsellors ought to teach. It may be useful to state the ways in which counselling can be distinguished from a teaching role (National Association of Counselling in Education, 1973):

a) the accessibility of the counsellor - all my counselling appointments are of approximately 45 minutes duration

b) its voluntary relationship - pupils who do not attend cannot be helped by this method

c) its non-authoritarian stance - the counsellor does not carry a conflicting disciplinary role

d) the possession of counselling skills

e) the possession of professional knowledge

f) focus upon personal meanings

One of the most useful skills I ever learned was how to elicit information from clients without asking questions - no mean task for busy teachers where time is a commodity. Some of the skills acquired/transmitted included the ability to receive communications without defensiveness and evasiveness; how to reflect accurately what one was being told; how to establish empathy as opposed to sympathy; an awareness of oneself and one's role in the encounter; how to establish rapport; how to use both one's eyes and ears - total perceptiveness- how to avoid responding over hastily with advice and action, and how to curb one's inclination to make premature judgments and diagnoses! To work in a school as a counsellor one needs to be flexibly equipped to respond effectively to many different needs and to young people of varied levels of maturity, from the intelligent, articulate and self-analytical sixth form pupil down to the silent, reluctant and scared second-year who understands only a little of what troubles him.

Reality for the pupils in school relates to academic success or failure, adjusting to changes in social, sexual and physical developments and a changing pattern of relationships to peers, one's own family and adults in a wider world. I fear that too often we underestimate the ease of acquiring social adaptability. For me, almost inevitably, whenever difficulties exist for a pupil, personal, behavioural and learning problems are closely interrelated and effective help has to touch on them all.

THE WORK OF THE COUNSELLOR

It is clear that if one subscribes to the view that students' problems lie along a continuum of need reflecting the severity, complexity and persistency of the symptoms, then effective management must lie along some continuum of support and aid. Such a continuum of support can be provided within a school ranging from the pastoral care exercised by form and subject teachers or by the school counsellor, through to the use of a special adjustment unit. There are times when all these resources need to be used simultaneously: sometimes the student will need psychiatric help, sometimes placement in an off-campus special unit for disruptive pupils, sometimes a day or boarding school for the maladjusted. It is within such a framework that I view myself in my present role. In many ways I provide the focal point in the organisation of the pastoral care system and as such I cover a range of administrative, supportive, co-ordinating, pastoral, liaison

and therapeutic functions. This is particularly so in relation to students who are emotionally at risk because of a number of physical, intellectual, emotional, behavioural and home circumstances and who, if not carefully monitored, become casualties and need intensive special education. Although inevitably I am often involved at 'crisis point' for pupils, nonetheless it is increasingly possible to work on a preventative level to ensure that pupils in difficulty are in fact helped before a time of crisis.

I am not seen either by teachers, colleagues, students or myself as the person to whom all pupils refer or are referred, nor am I a substitute for the continuous guidance which only those in constant contact can offer. I recognise that my work is to some extent limited by what other people (pupils, parents, staff and external agencies) allow me to do. This inevitably means that a good proportion of my time is spent upon constant intercommunication.

CASE LOAD

I have an office of my own in neutral territory on the campus, i.e. I do not 'belong' to a particular community. My office contains the usual office equipment - telephone, filing cabinet, comfortable chairs - and I can draw on secretarial help when I need to.

Most of my referrals are not self-referrals. I think that it is inevitable in such a large school population, but it also reflects the way the service functions for the whole school. Most referrals come direct from the Heads of Hall and their Deputies, and most are formalised in writing or emerge during the weekly discussions I have with the appropriate Head. I do not treat discussions over coffee breaks or in corridors as referrals. A growing number of referrals also come from the local Social Services Department, the Educational Social Workers, family doctors and parents. I invariably formalise my relationship with the person referring a student by a written report containing observations and recommendations which I have discussed with the pupil concerned.

It is very difficult to be precise about the number of referrals I receive - they can vary from two to twelve a week. Some are far more time-consuming than others (for example, school refusers and examination students). I seldom see more than six to eight pupils at any one time on a long-term basis (a minimum of five sessions, of forty-five minutes duration). I usually insist that pupils attend two sessions - second sessions are much more difficult than first and often reflect the adolescent's preoccupation with the here and now, which can cause havoc to an appointment system! I do not close my files on anyone. Many re-refer themselves or are encouraged to return if it is felt that this is appropriate.

I do not inform parents that I am seeing their children - I see myself as part of the school service - although there are numerous occasions when this has been discussed with the parents before the referral comes to me.

I could draw up an extensive list of the range of problems I have had to cope with in my six years of school counselling but I would prefer to draw several points from this experience.

a) The nature of the problem is often connected with the age of the student. Lower-school pupils tend to be more often preoccupied with such issues as adjustment to new situations, friendship difficulties, bullying and teacher relationships. Older students are often more concerned with home conflicts (with and between parents), heterosexual and homosexual relationships, educational and vocational issues, and personal identity and directional problems.

b) There are obvious points at which critical incidents seem to occur:

i) At primary/secondary transfer where pupils are faced with new and enlarged social relationships, and where academic competition is often greatly increased.

ii) Allocation to options (3rd-4th year) where vocational and personal counselling are markedly interlinked. This is the point at which many students decide to opt out and begin to create many of the behaviour problems staff spend hours trying to solve.

iii) Fifth year students displaying examination anxieties and inability to make vocational choices. It is also the year when failure to make peer/heterosexual relationships often become crucial.

iv) Years VI and VII who find that 'A' level work is very different from 'O' level, and who panic at looming assignments/examinations, primarily because of their inability to organise their study.

Hamblin (1974) outlines the situations where he feels that a skilled level of counselling is needed, and I think that these reflect the above:

> "When underfunctioning and unrealistically high or low levels of aspiration distort the pupil's response to the learning situation where discrepancy between his development socially and emotionally and the demands of the school are such that most people tend to see him as immature; where there is a pressing need for contact with a competent model, especially in fatherless or motherless families; where the powers of communication are deficient. The specialist level assumes importance when insights are needed by the pupil, when they have difficulty in communication with adults and are confused about their emotions and reactions, and where irrationality seems to be playing a large part in their problems". (p. 311).

RANGE OF FUNCTIONS

Areas of Work

The term school counsellor covers a wide variety of areas of involvement and responsibility. Although no two counsellors function

in the same way, or have identical roles, there are overlapping areas of functioning. I shall attempt to enumerate these (not in any sequence of priority as this changes from week to week).

a) A skilled therapist, able to offer a programme of supportive help and guidance to certain students on an individual basis.

b) A professional resource member of staff, making available to teaching colleagues information about:
   i) children's needswhen they become special
   ii) the external agencies available to help students.
   I also function as an intermediary between teachers and relevant persons in the community, such as family doctors and health visitors, when this is appropriate.

c) A professional link with agencies, including Social Services, Child Psychiatry, Probation and the Schools Psychological Service.

d) A home-school link in relation to families where a student is causing particular concern and contact with the home is urgent and appropriate, and where the parents are reluctant to visit the school.

e) Support to Pastoral Care Staff in the school through formal and informal discussions with class teachers, form teachers, remedial teachers and other specialist staff concerned with special education. As my own knowledge and expertise increases, so does the percentage of time spent in this area of work. I include here the school's Education Social Worker with whom I have close ties.

f) Monitoring stress among staff, particularly probationary teachers (who are given additional support from the Professional Tutor) and consulting with the Principal on how to eliminate or alleviate these problems. There are crisis 'peaks' in the school term and referrals, or lack of referrals, are often indicative of these (for example, the fifth week of term).

g) Establishing referral procedures whereby teaching colleagues may obtain help for students they believe to be in distress, and ensuring that the procedures established work effectively and efficiently for staff and students. I also attempt to ensure that staff do obtain feedback from external agencies on students they were responsible for referring in the first instance.

h) Be alert to the in-service needs of staff in relation to students who may be handicapped because they have physical disabilities, or have learning disorders, or are maladjusted, or mildly mentally retarded. Also students with multi-cultural problems associated with language and adjustment, and students who are depressed or on drugs. I arrange seminars on these areas of need in conjunction with the Special Needs Department and the Professional Tutor in the school.

i) Convening case conferences in relation to students who have been temporarily suspended - often to precipitate action - or students who are under the aegis of an external agency but about whom staff still remain concerned.

It is very doubtful whether local authorities/schools will greatly increase the number of school counsellors. What is crucial, however, is for schools to have a 'named person' who has professional recognition within his/her own school and with external agencies. This also resolves the co-ordination problem of a number of teachers working with a number of agencies at the same time in relation to a particular student.

Such co-ordination in Banbury School has resulted in a markedly improved service for the school and its students. What I have attempted to set up are two systems:

a) a structured referral/feedback system both within and outside the school, and

b) a short circuit system which ensures immediate advice/support when situations erupt, for example with the Schools Psychological Service, the local Family and Child Guidance Clinic, or the Adolescent Unit in Oxford.

There is no typical day for a Counsellor - indeed, one of the most daunting adjustments I had to make was to accustom myself to not having a fixed timetable. However, one quickly learns to establish a routine, especially where this involves arrangements with members of staff, parents, students or outside agencies. It is vitally important, if the counselling service is to be effective, that there is a degree of flexibility allowing for an immediate response to be made when a crisis arises. It is the handling of these 'stress' demands that is part of the counsellor's skill - knowing when it is necessary to take immediate action and the course of action to be followed. Flexibility of working is not necessarily an in-built part of one's personality! Sometimes it is a skill that has to be learnt; part of the learning takes place during the counsellor's professional training. It is an important skill because it is allied to how a counsellor copes, and helps others to cope, with undue stress in the day-to-day working situation.

The first hour of the day is often taken up with confirming arrangements already planned for the day, or re-shuffling my work schedule. This involves telephoning Heads of Hall and responding to requests to see students or to have discussions/meetings with staff. If a home visit is planned for later in the day, it may be necessary to telephone the parents to confirm details. It is also the time I use to contact family doctors - we have built up a very close liaison with the local G.P. surgeries. A meeting/appointment at the Family and Child Guidance Clinic may need to be confirmed. Occasionally there is an emergency referral related to the student who is making suicide threats or whose behaviour has become disordered for no obvious reasons, or the student who is tearful and appears to be depressed. These kind of problems can now be dealt with very swiftly due to what

may be called a hot-line consultancy service with the staff of a Hospital Psychiatric Adolescent Unit. This vital link brings into the ordinary school, support and advice which helps to deal with the stress of pupils and their parents and the concern of the teaching staff. It is at first stage a consultation service, but arising from the discussion held, can result in an emergency admission to hospital. It is a very effective way of using the highly skilled but over-burdened resources of the hospital based psychiatric services. Occasionally the psychiatric team will visit the school to meet a student's teachers, especially when preparations are being made for a child to be discharged from the Adolescent Unit to normal schooling.

Other agencies, such as Social Services and the Probation Service, may need to be contacted as a first task of the day. I provide the liaison work with the Education Department's Special Services Section in relation to the pupil being referred for hostel placement or for special boarding school.

Working with a Specialist Agency

Once a week the educational psychologist visits the school and a meeting with two families is arranged for the morning. Prior to these meetings discussions will have already taken place between subject teachers, senior members of staff, including Head of Hall, and myself. I may have made a home visit to prepare the ground, or formal contact may have been made by letter. A referral form is made out giving details of the presenting problems, the important characteristics of the pupil and his family, and information being sought by teachers which will arise during the psychological interview and examination. I ensure that in the appropriate Hall adequate accommodation is available for the psychologist, the pupil and his parents and that a member of the teaching staff is available. Before meeting the parents, I will discuss with the psychologist the problems of the students being seen, using the referral form referred to above. Requests for a pupil to be seen may come from teachers, the parents, the family doctor, a support agency, the School Social Worker, or from the Child Guidance Clinic. The students seen by the psychologist are invariably chosen by the teaching staff and this is co-ordinated by the Counsellor. By this method it is possible to promote a student up the waiting list when circumstances demand it so that a 'crisis' situation can be dealt with, and the student can be seen by the psychologist, in less than a week. Because the interview and psychological testing of the student is carried out with the parents and myself present, this ensures co-ordination between school and parent with the Counsellor being the representative of the school who is involved in all activities associated with the psychological referral.

Immediately following the meeting of the family with the psychologist, I arrange a brief meeting between psychologist and the teaching staff who referred the pupil, thus ensuring a quick referral back to teachers and the immediate implementation of any suggested management procedures. A confirmatory report of these arrangements as agreed between parent, the school and the psychologist, is sent to the school

the following week with a copy to the family doctor. The task of the psychologist is first to establish whether the teacher's/counsellor's perception of the problem is correct or whether it needs modifying in the light of information obtained during the psychological examination. Other areas of difficulty are explored with the family, the results of the psychological tests are explained to the pupil and parents, and an agreed programme of management is set up. Part of this management could involve referral to the family doctor for further investigation of health problems or to the child psychiatric services. The parents may be counselled by the psychologist to consider alternative forms of education for their child, such as a move to a special day or boarding school. A programme of educational remediation, counselling by the school counsellor, or family therapy treatment might be advised. At all stages in the process of referral, examination, prognosis and management, the school, through its representative counsellor, and the parents, are active participants.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the Warnock Report (Department of Education and Science, 1978) have provided further evidence of the wide range of special educational needs that exist in ordinary schools. The concept of 'the total child' underlined as the philosophy of this Report serves to remind us that all helping agencies will need to develop and broaden the perspective of their work. This applies particularly to those who have counselling commitments and that wider range of children/students, namely those with physical, learning, social and multi-cultural problems, may need to come within the professional field of the School Counsellor.

This approach has been adopted already at Banbury Comprehensive School where a detailed study of the special educational needs of all students is carried out. It is in anticipation of some of these trends in the Counsellor's work in comprehensive schools that I have developed the model of management and function described above.

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A SCHOOL UNIT - ITS NATURE AND FUNCTION

Eileen Callely and Valerie Rees

BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

The school is comprehensive and caters for approximately 1,850 girls on a split site with two miles between the two buildings. The lower school takes forms one and two which are mainly in mixed ability groups and there is a remedial department. The upper school caters for years three, four, five and six with a remedial department in form three and some withdrawal calsses for Mathematics and English in forms four and five. The pastoral organisation is on a year basis with a tutor and an assistant in charge of each year together with a senior teacher who has overall charge for discipline at each site.

The unit opened in September 1976 and is financed by an Urban Aid Grant from the Welsh Office. No guidelines on the philosophy or organisation of the unit were set down. A senior official of the authority simply stated: "Go away and make it work!". During the previous year, however, the person who was appointed as teacher in charge had been seconded from the school to study for a Diploma in the Education of Maladjusted Children. Fortunately, and quite by chance, she had chosen to undertake a small piece of research on school-based units for her study of special interest. The research involved visiting such units in several parts of the country and also distributing a questionnaire about the value of school units to the staff of several local comprehensive schools. The result of these investigations helped when this unit was set up as theory could almost immediately be put into practice. One thing became quite clear during the research, both from the literature and in conversation,- that it was very important to communicate to the staff of the school exactly what the philosophy of the unit was and how it was seen to fit into the pastoral system of the school. It was equally clear that this communication should also be on-going. The aims of the unit were first carefully worked out by the headteacher and the teacher in charge and then communicated to the staff at a full staff-meeting. A copy of the aims has subsequently always been displayed on the staff notice-board together with the referral procedure. Evaluation meetings have been held and written comments invited from the staff.

FUNCTIONS OF THE UNIT

The functions of the unit were carefully planned so that it could effectively change behaviour by social skill training and thus meet the needs of both the children and teachers. The present functions of the unit are:

a) It provides help immediately a problem has been diagnosed after referral procedures have been observed. This prevents further deterioration in behaviour as a recommendation can be followed by a referral meeting in a matter of days.

b) Children suffering from emotional or social stress are removed to a less demanding situation. Here they can gradually learn to overcome problems and practice new strategies for dealing with problems.

c) In the unit the disruptive pupil is encouraged to develop better self control. In a small group situation teacher expectation, and therefore control, can be varied to bring about improved self image or management.

d) Special individual tuition is provided for pupils who are experiencing learning difficulties because of behaviour problems. Conversely children whose behaviour problems result from failure in the learning situation can also be helped to overcome their difficulties.

e) In the unit the teacher carefully monitors and screens the pupils. Information thus obtained is of great value when decisions are made by outside agencies.

f) As the unit functions using partial referral procedures children are encouraged to attend lessons with which they feel able to cope. This practice keeps them integrated in general school life and makes their later total reintroduction easier.

g) The unit has a positive image and is supportive in function, not punitive. It aims to build on existing behaviour patterns by enhancing the child's self image and awareness of role in society, school and home.

h) The unit is part of the school and at all times seeks to remind staff and children that success is measured by reintegration.

ORGANISATION

Because of the split site arrangement of the school two teachers were appointed. One teacher on Scale one is employed in the Lower School and another, the teacher-in-charge, is in the Upper School with a Scale two salary. A former cloakroom was converted in the lower school and an average size classroom in the upper school. Both rooms are in the main building of the schools and are not set apart in any way although no other member of staff teaches in the units.

REFERRAL PROCEDURES

Referral meetings are held at lunchtime in the unit in the upper school and these meetings are always well attended. Although basically the same procedure is used in the lower school it is modified somewhat because of the differences in organisation. What is written here refers mainly to the upper school.

The flow chart in Figure 1 shows how referral meetings are arrived at.

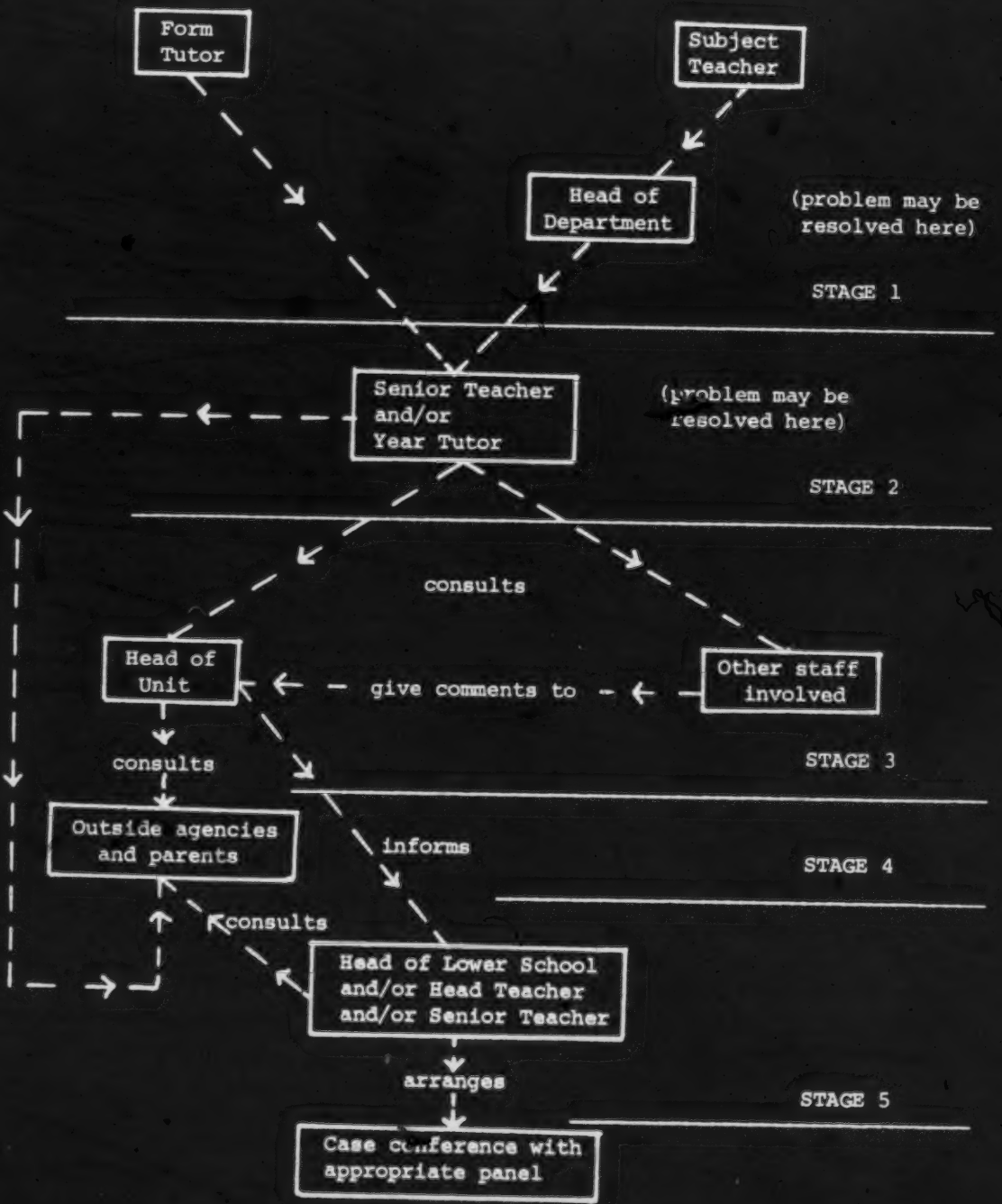

Figure 1. Referral Procedure

The meetings are chaired either by the headteacher or the senior teacher concerned. After discussion, it is decided (with the final decision being taken by the chairwoman) whether a pupil should be referred, and if so, for which subjects. This is the only assessment made - no formal instruments such as the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide are used. If assessment is thought necessary, the School Psychological Service is asked to do this after referral and also, again if it is thought necessary, Social Services are informed. Sometimes a pupil is not finally referred because after discussion has taken place and some details of the pupil's background revealed, staff are often willing to keep the pupil in the class and to try out any management techniques which other staff have found successful. However, the teachers know that if these techniques are not successful, they can refer the child again without having further meetings. On one occasion the staff refused to refer one particularly disturbed pupil who was showing signs of very aggressive behaviour because it was thought that this girl would have an adverse effect on the pupils already in the unit. Instead, they preferred to isolate the girl for lessons with her year tutor and with themselves in their free periods. In fact, the Authority has now taken responsibility for the pupil pending her referral to a special school. Parents are always visited at home after a referral has been made and this contact has proved invaluable.

THE TYPE AND NUMBER OF REFERRALS AND REINTEGRATION

During the unit's first year there were thirteen referrals in the lower school and sixteen in the upper school. The following year the lower school had eighteen and upper school had fifteen. At any one time, there have never been more than nine pupils in the lower school unit and never more than six in the upper school unit.

The unit is intended to help pupils who, for various reasons, are not coping with the normal school environment and regime. The behaviour problems in the school can be classified as those caused by emotional and social stress or by learning problems. Obviously the most easily identified problems are those caused by the disruptive pupil who has to be removed from the classroom so that a lesson can continue. There is a structure within the pastoral system for dealing with these pupils and the system is clearly defined so that staff can deal with the situation appropriately. As can be seen in Figure 1, referral to the unit fits into this system and it is in this context that the special unit operates.

No set procedure has been worked out for the reintegration of pupils into their classes. This was simply because at the inception of the unit it was not clear how this would take place. Fortunately, although this procedure is still not clearly defined this has not been a problem. This lack of definition occurs because of the individual needs of each pupil. The return to lessons is a gradual process - subject by subject - choosing the order of subjects carefully in order to cause least stress. The year tutors are always involved in this and the whole process can take several weeks.

It is usually obvious when a pupil is ready to go back to class (she gets tired of being away from her friends) and some pupils have regressed in their behaviour if they have not been integrated at the right time. When a pupil is ready to go back increasing pressure is used, even including the setting up of situations to provoke the pupil, and this is followed by a discussion of reactions.

THE UNIT AND THE SCHOOL'S PASTORAL SYSTEM

The unit is a place of purposeful activity and an open situation. Pupils do not feel that they have been relegated to this area and it does not have a 'sin-bin' image. The emphasis is on learning and enjoying learning. The provision of work is the responsibility of the member of staff concerned. Some provide an individual programme for the pupil to be completed over a period of time, others give work lesson by lesson, sometimes bringing it to the unit personally. These visits are valuable in that they provide an opportunity for contact between pupil and teacher which is helpful in the ultimate reintegration process. Some staff are not as diligent as others in the provision of work and need to be reminded. However, to cover for the few occasions when work is not set there is a supply of worksheets mainly in English and Mathematics. Each pupil follows an individual timetable which is the same as she would have been following in the normal course of events. When referrals are made for practical subjects such as P.E. and Home Economics which are difficult to follow in the unit, then there is a supply of board games, jig-saws, felt toy-making equipment and reading books. These periods, too, provide the opportunity to sit and talk informally. The room is open, staff move in and out freely and a calm atmosphere usually prevails. Obviously there are times when the mix results in two or more severe acting-out pupils and then reason has to prevail. Such outbursts are quickly defused and it is significant to note that on only one occasion in two years was other help sought.

The main aim of the unit is to reintegrate the pupil successfully into normal classes. No set length of time is specified in the unit and length of stay depends on the individual child's needs. However, there has been minimum time of half a term and a maximum of two terms before reintegration. A measure of the success of the unit is that re-referrals are not common in the upper school unit. Several pupils who had been in the lower school unit have been referred after their transfer to the upper school. Many found that they could cope with the extra pressures after transfer and could make a fresh start, but others have needed a further spell in the upper school unit to come to terms with the demands of the new situations.

As was stated above, there is no clearly defined procedure for re-integration as there is for referral, as it is felt that each child's needs are different and an individual programme is required. Who then decides that re-integration should take place? Sometimes it

is the pupil herself, sometimes the subject teacher or the teacher-in-charge of the unit. The pupil often feels that she wants to become a member of her group again and to demonstrate her ability to cope with work. Often the subject teacher, having had time to settle the class down, is prepared to accept the pupil back again. However, in all cases it is necessary to carry out extended discussions with staff. Often it is necessary in explaining the pupils progress to ask staff to modify their demands so that the girl can settle back inconspicuously. Obviously this can only be done if a good relationship has been built up between the staff and the teacher in charge of the unit.

The unit provides an adaptive environment in the school where expectations and demands are imposed, and controls on social behaviour exercised. Great insistence is placed on politeness towards each other and visitors. Control is primarily through teacher-learning activities and a structured work environment is the established pattern. In fact, most of the pupils have fallen behind with their academic work and remedial work is often required.

This emphasis on academic work and social relationships creates the ethos of the unit. Discipline is maintained by the establishment of good relationships and there are no punishments used other than the normal sanctions used in the school. The unit is concerned with the outcome of the pupils' behaviour and the control of this behaviour rather than in searching for the cause. Where other investigations are necessary open lines of communication are established with other professional agencies. The unit functions as a normal part of the school' programme. It has not acquired a negative image and staff carefully protect it by guarding against actions that might stigmatise it as a 'sin-bin'. Children are <u>never</u> told that they might be sent to the unit for bad behaviour. Usually the unit is described as a place where a child can have special attention to get over learning/behavioural difficulties. Often, severely disruptive pupils, after discussion, are not referred to the unit as staff feel that they would have a negative effect on the other girls' behaviour. The head of the unit takes no part in these decisions, only emphasising that the unit is a facility for the staff to use for the general good of the school. It is significant to note the value placed on the unit by the staff and their comprehension of its aims and functions. The extremely aggressive, disruptive pupil who would have had a disturbing <u>negative</u> effect upon the behaviour and progress of the others is usually placed in the custodial care of a senior member of the pastoral staff.

The standard of behaviour, both academic and social, required from all unit pupils is the same as that required from all the other pupils in the school. There is consistent pressure to conform: structure and guidelines for behaviour are clearly set down. The unit is an integral part of the school's pastoral system both conceptually and administratively. It is responsible for those pupils who are experiencing problems in their inter-personal relations and whose social and emotional problems disrupt their own learning as well as that of others. Administratively the unit is integrated into the organisation of the school through a strong pastoral system: this

gives the unit a functional base and the active support of senior members of staff. This support is regarded as essential if the aims of the unit are to be adhered to, and also if procedures laid down for admissions are to be followed.

In December 1978 the teacher-in-charge of the unit left the school to take up a University appointment. The structure and functioning of the unit were clearly defined at this time and its practice effective in changing behaviour and re-integrating the pupil back into normal lessons. A temporary appointment only could be made for a teacher to be in charge of the unit. A young teacher in her probationary year was appointed for the Spring and Summer Terms. It has been interesting to monitor the functioning of the unit for this time as it has often been postulated that when a structure is functioning effectively it will continue to do so even if personnel change. As previously stated, lines of procedure were clearly laid down and staff at all levels were supportive to the philosopy of the unit. The new teacher-in-charge quickly adapted to the day to day running of the unit with its varying demands on subject expertise. Activity was purposeful and learning difficulties were effectively dealt with. However, an impasse occurred when a group of girls asserted themselves in this small group situation. Language and behaviour deteriorated to such as extent that two girls had to be suspended. On their return to school they could not be reintroduced into the unit and so after staff consultation they were reintegrated into normal lessons. Subsequently the behaviour of one girl had broken down again and she is again excluded from school. On two further occasions other pupils have had to be removed from the unit.

It would seem that if a unit is to work effectively in remedying learning problems and changing behaviour it must be run by a teacher with status and experience. Special skills are required in this small group situation where the constant demands of pupils, the testing and retesting of standards, can impose immense strains. The teacher must be able to impose guidelines for behaviour and have the experience and skill to enforce them. Status in the eyes of the staff, whether financial or in terms of experience, is useful in negotiating terms of entry or reintegration. Such a unit is by no means a soft option and would be a valuable mainstay to any pastoral system.

AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL FOR SOCIAL EDUCATION

David Brockington and Roger White

INTRODUCTION

It would be nice to think that suddenly the light was coming on, and being seen, all over western Europe: the recognition that school curriculum and methods needed constant rethinking to keep pace with the information revolution and the rapidity of change arising out of our highly complex industrialized society! This is not happening of course and, according to UNESCO the only radical desire for educational change happening globally is arising out of the breakdown of educational models which are maladjusted and have been seen to be so by the third world and developing nations whose seduction into the ways of the West now seems to have passed the 'honeymoon period'. Even in our own cultural circumstances and specifically here in Britain, educational institutions are experiencing severe strains, as adumbrated in the very title to this collection of papers. A cursory glance at the statistics indicates quite clearly that something isn't working. School truancy and vandalism reflect the rising social costs of an educational policy that is unable to cope with a growing adolescent disenchantment with existing school provisions.

In searching for causes of this disenchantment, it is easy to lay blame: on parents for inadequate supervision and concern for their offspring at home; on schools for an irrelevant curriculum that distributes secondhand knowledge through poorly qualified academics: on Local Education Authorities for bureaucratic approaches that are unable to distinguish individuals from group statistics: on the media that promote discontent through glossy advertisements, and moral degeneration through projections of sex and violence: and on peer group pressures that encourage deviance from the norms that society would generally wish to promote. At different times all these factors have become the bogeymen for the blamers - and sometimes with justification. But laying blame doesn't produce a solution: the problems in multi-dimensional not univocal. And when the school leaving age was raised in 1973, the problem merely intensified, as teachers were asked to educate yet more children further into adolescence, without curriculum models adapted to the need. It was at this time that we became involved with educational provision for such adolescents.

In trying to develop appropriate curriculum models, though influenced by the rhetoric of the early de-schoolers, we were much more concerned with the practical possibilities offered by the existing educational framework and what could be done by working <u>with</u> schools rather than <u>against</u> them.

We were much encouraged by several experiments operating within the liberal constraints of the Danish education system - in particular a

school in North Jutland that catered exclusively for the adolescent rejects of mainstream education. The school took youngsters in the 14 - 16 year age range. Using our labels, they would be called maladjusted, school phobic, disruptive and so on. But what was immediately obvious in this Tvind School was the enthusiasm of the young people for what they were doing - for the school itself. There were few signs of the behavioural problems that had characterised their previous attendance at the 'ordinary' state high school.

Why this dramatic change?

In a nutshell it was very simple. The school's emphasis was on '3 R's' that were very different from the '3 R's' and their variations traditionally promulgated in this country. Instead of rules, regulation and ritual, their priorities were Responsibility, aRticulation and Relevant education.

How did it work?

The school was residential. There were 120 children but instead of being split into "houses" they were split into job groups (mechanics, clerks, builders, farmers, cleaners, cooks, journalists and artists). Eight job groups with one teacher attached to each group. This meant that all the children and staff shared the responsibility of running the school - both pupils and staff worked together in keeping it going. There were no outsiders, as is common in most schools (like cooks and cleaners) and all jobs were shared - not divided between staff and pupils.

Because of the nature of the jobs they were engaged in, the second of their 3 R's followed inevitably. The youngsters were expected to participate in discussion and debate and the continuing process of group assessment, which was a core feature of the school. They had to join in and be prepared to articulate their feelings and attitudes. On our arrival for instance we were met by two of the 'journalists' who spent two hours discussing the workings of the school in near perfect English. With 80,000 visitors to the school during the year in which we stayed, the pupils had to be able to express their views coherently.

The third of the 3 R's, Relevant education, arose from the construction of the job groups. All pupils were following the curriculum for the state exams equivalent to British 'O' levels. The aim of the teaching approach was to try and link theoretical work for the exams with the practical work defined by the young people's job groups. For example, the clerks would learn Maths by having to keep accounts, by balancing the books, and by understanding the finances involved in running the school. This last of the 3 R's is the most difficult to achieve. It needs skilful teachers, alert to the potentialities of unpredictable and less structured situations for learning outside the classroom - but it can be done.

THE BRISTOL PROJECT

On our project in Bristol we are engaged in a similar educational

enterprise that also revolves around responsibility, articulation and relevant education. Although it operates outside the actual precincts of the comprehensive schools whose children we take, it works in co-operation with them and we believe has much to offer those teachers in schools who are concerned with revitalising the curriculum. Of course, the English educational system is more constrained than that in Denmark, but our project provides a convincing demonstration that a curriculum which emphasises responsibility is more than just woolly idealism.

How does it work?

In terms of responsibility, we involve the youngsters in the running of the project - in planning the curriculum, in maintaining the fabric of the building, in handling the cash and in hosting visitors. This demands an involvement that inevitably develops expressiveness. Talking is a crucial element in this sharing of responsibility and the expectation (which they rise to meet like everyone else!) is that they will cope. The third feature of our project - the Relevant education - is provided through a balanced mixture of certificated and non-certificated staff. It is this staffing aspect that we feel is the key. People only learn when they are committed to the learning process and young people will learn about values and about making decisions by being involved with respected adults who demonstrate such skills alongside them. It requires small group situations.

How can this relate to schools?

It is possible to incorporate these 3 R's into the existing framework, but this would require a re-orientation of emphasis away from an examination dominated curriculum. Let us give some examples.

Any form teacher can engage his pupils in a co-operative exercise that gives them a measure of responsibility - handling money, involving them in discussions about timetabling and curriculum (where decisions reached actually affected something), maintaining the classroom or participating in the caring process required for the class to work well as a group.

Equally by encouraging expression of opinions, by involving youngsters in co-operative exercises that demand communication, or by simply talking with, as opposed to <u>at</u>, increased articulation can be an automatic sequitur.

By bringing other people from outside the school into the classroom (and vice versa) the teacher can maximise the contact with respected adults that is a crucial element in the learning process. There is a great number of people with real skills and first hand knowledge and wisdom who, though not certificated teachers, could work alongside the qualified teacher who was 'professional' enough to enlist their help. This is no more than the de-schoolers have been saying for years and if we think about our own education we might admit that the things of value we learnt when young, came from people we trusted, and respected and were friendly with - many or perhaps most of whom weren't teachers!

In some ways it may be a mistake to try to describe what we actually do on this project for school leavers, taking groups of fifteen youngsters from seven comprehensives in Bristol out on a 'day release' (some would say let loose!) basis for a programme of social education. However, to ask "what do you do actually?" (it is always asked very politely) is largely to miss the point. It is to miss the point at the process level and as any competent examinee in sociology will tell you 'The process is the thing...'!

Let's then try to look briefly at some of the basic features of our sort of project at this process level.

What are we doing?

One of the basic things we are doing is to take young people for whom school does not seem to work very well - for whatever reasons - out of the geographical precincts of the school. That is itself very important. When the youngsters come to us they come with a clean, or at least cleanish, slate. They do not see the place that they are coming to as school; they see it, because that is how it is presented, as a club which has a far less formal appearance and organisation than a school. Nor do they see us whom they meet in this setting as teachers. And it is this 'Form' of things, not the content, but the form, the method of approach, that is all important. This is partly about role theory in sociological terms. One of our basic propositions is this: Role theory suggests, that people's behaviour is at least partly defined and generated in terms of networks of expectations and the design and structure of social situations. If this is true, then change those expectations and alter the structure of the social situation and you change behaviour. Part of what makes children children, is that we expect them to be so. That is not, of course, a complete analysis, and we would not suggest that it is, but it holds enough truth to be useful as a working model. We often place young people into situations of responsibility, for instance, where the network of expectations and the social situation requires of them that they behave not as childre, but as leaders of others - in a primary school setting for instance, in supervision of younger ones - where their role becomes quite different.

The next vitally important feature of our project is the presence of people from the community: not necessarily certificatedteachers, but people who have an enormous amount of experience and warmth, skill and wisdom to offer. People are a tremendously undervalued resource, and may be more so as technology ascends still higher. (Even Her Majesty's Government recognised this in the publication of 50 Million Volunteers - Department of the Environment, 1972) which was a plea and blueprint for the use of person power). The real importance of this aspect of our work is this: the taking of young people into the community where they can engage with adults - in a less formal setting than school - breaking down into smaller groups for the purposes of problem solving.

If there is a failure to provide an adequate model for the education of a large proportion of adolescents in a world where the main transmission of change is through the media (that's where, again, the teacher with his

stick of chalk is way behind the glossy presentations of the telly in terms of impact - both conscious and subliminal), then the emphasis in education and socialization is shifted from the school and also from the family onto the media and onto the peer group. And the message of the sort of provision we try to generate is that by going back into the community (although still using the school for 'cognitive domain' purposes) you can do three things:

a) you increase the element of purely human contact, which is hugely significant.

b) You can demonstrate that the community itself cares and not just the professionals who are paid to, but many other people care enough to intervene. This is a qualitative point, really, about 'texture' almost: as a farmer you could increase the efficiency of your soil in the short term by use of highly concentrated chemical fertilisers. But in the long term you would be at risk of reducing and perhaps destroying the fibre, or texture, of your soil. The very fact that this may not be as graphic a metaphor as it might be for highlighting the professionals/volunteer disparity, is not unconnected with the socio-economic fact that although agriculture is the largest single industrial operation in the U.K. it only employs less than 3% of the total labour force. This means that most of us are not in contact with the processes which supply our basic needs. In our highly specialised world there is a way for us to leave it to the machines. In the same way in the personal service industries we are traduced into leaving it to the professional.

c) you shift the emphasis as a shaper of the socialization process a little more towards the community, with all its rich tapestries and textured resources, rather than towards the peer group or the media. It is really a part of learning theory that people learn the ropes by climbing them, not just by thinking about climbing them or viewing them from a distance (more likely to create distortion than objectivity). They learn certain kinds of skills (probably the most important ones for most of us) not so much in terms of learning data from books (learning 'that') but in terms of their perceiving the ways in which respected adults go about problem solving. These ways are then tried for personal fit. So in these interrelated senses the wide network of people in one's community are crucial: there are people everywhere and not just in quantity but quality also which the narrow unionism of our personal services industries (teaching, social work) would seem to so like us not to believe.

In speaking about social skills and problem solving, it is important to remind ourselves that there is a most important sense in which you cannot effectively teach these skills in a textbook sort of way at all even, with sophisticated teaching materials of people like Priestley et al., (1978). We do not live in a world, and nor have we ever, where social studies of any general or particular description could afford to be simply a textbook or armchair exercise. There are just too many problems to actually solve, for us to be able to luxuriate in rarefied and isolated theoretics. Academics, and others, who do so are voluptuaries of a most un-

pleasant kind. Similarly, with the new National Youth Opportunities Programme of the Manpower Services Commission (which has made a bid against the DES for control of the teaching of 16-19 year olds: a bid which has had resemblances of a dog-fight on occasions) the teaching of the associated and in-vogue 'social and life skills' courses for the young trainees must be taught through involvement with real problems - not just sitting in a classroom doing exercises, however sophisticated and with video and all the other paraphernalia to increase sensitivity or whatever in group interactions. Such learning might start there but if that (the classroom) was where it were to remain, it would, we think, be worse than useless. Exactly because of the work-based experiences of the Youth Opportunities Programme there is a huge opportunity not to be missed for gearing these sorts of learnings so that they arise out of and are generated within the work settings that the young people are in for the most of their time during each week. Already, though, all over the country a fundamental error has been perpetuated in the Youth Opportunities Programme, and that is to separate the learning/training education from the work setting. This is an artificial and damaging division of spheres and would be better corrected quickly.

The other reason that you cannot teach social skills in a traditional 'teaching that' sense, (i.e. in a purely cognitive sense) is that social skills are located in a quite different knowledge base: knowing 'how' to do such and such, not just knowing 'that', or that you could or might do it like so. There are different probabilities of knowing involved. We've got to get away in our education system from the intellectualist legend that the defining property of a mind is characterised in the process of theorising. Our society's basic view of intelligence is caught up in this ludicrous conceptual muddle: so that as we all know you can't appropriately, on the popular intelligence model, speak of intelligent football play or intelligent plumbing! This does a great violence to a lot of talent, as if we could afford to rape, not reap, it.

Coming again to our look at the 'process' level and what could be replicated elsewhere, the next and interrelated feature of our project, which we think is of great importance and benefit to the youngsters, lies in the role of students. The project performs a fairly huge teacher and social worker training function. We have in all around 35 students working on the scheme each year, and we thereby achieve a better adult/youngster ratio than any public school in England. In fact if we had fees we would be thinking of putting them up! We have a ratio of 1 : 3 which means that we can split down into small sub-group work and give these young people the sort of personal attention they need and the schools would love to give, but in the main can't. This use of students,not just in Bristol but a lot of other places across the country, is a replicable feature. The advantages that the experience also affords the students,we have chronicled elsewhere (See Chapter 9 or In and Out of School, White and Brockington, 1978).

A further important feature of the project is highlighted in the plight of large numbers of young people which has been accentuated by the recent economic recession. Not only do they fail inside of school, but outside of it also. When they leave and can't get jobs. This is a

sort of double failure syndrome: in and out of school; and it is very frightening since all those popular truths about becoming adult through entry to the world of work is denied. Also, the really important aspect of work as a connecting point for the individual between herself/himself and the wider society is denied. And this 'nexus' function is really the most important aspect of work: not all the platitudinous peripherals about 'regularity' and 'time keeping' and discipline. Work provides a mechanism for giving the individual a sense of connection to 'society' in the more generalised sense. The absence of this mechanism is one of the reasons that unemployment is so crushing, psychologically.

We were involved in the initial deliberations of the Manpower Services Commission Holland Report which launched the National Youth Opportunities Programme. In Bristol a group of us were invited to set up a pilot scheme for this programme. This means currently for our own youngsters on the ROSLA porject, we are able to offer a more or less guaranteed opportunity for at least a year's training and work. (This will continue as long as the government does not insist on believing that the answer to the present structural unemployment experienced here, and all over Western Europe, is actually to be ameliorated by the trade-cyclical unemployment measure of rejuvenating investment in manufacturing industry).

Probably one of the real proofs of the pudding of this ROSLA social education project arises out of the work of our associated literacy scheme. This operates in the following way. Having had contact with people over their last school years, we reach a position with many, not all, because obviously we have our failures too, but many, where they are prepared, because they know and trust the workers involved, to admit that they do have a problem and ask for help. Anyone associated with literacy work will know that the illiterate's admission that he or she <u>has</u> a problem is the first and major hurdle. Young people are coming back to us, having left school, to engage in evening learning sessions in literacy and numeracy, because in our sort of setting they <u>are</u> making significant contacts with adults and are experiencing more rewarding relations than elsewhere. This is hugely important in its social policy ramifications. Let us put it into a wider context. In the last progress report of the, now defunct, Adult Literacy Resource Agency, speaking about adult literacy provision and uptake they said this:

> "We are very much aware that the great majority of students who have come forward are over 21. We wish we could feel satisfied that this indicates that those between 16 and 21 are wholly literate. We fear however that this is not so ... The general experience of the recruitment of young people to further education is that those who most need it, seldom seek it". (D.E.S., 1977).

If those who most need further education are those who seldom seek or get it, what mechanisms can we institute nationally in our system to provide these young people with easy, or easier, access to such opportunities? We need transition or link mechanisms to work in a way which even the Youth Opportunities Programme with its further education component is not. Indeed we need such mechanisms <u>in order that</u> many of these young people actually get onto the Youth Opportunities Programme itself.

Our sort of project (and we say 'sort' because it is not a blueprint in detail - people in other areas would run it differently not using students, not based in youth clubs) offers two basic categories of provision:

a) It provides an extension facility in co-operation with school, where instead of the purely crisis management of truancy and disenchantment and associated vandalisms (with real and social cost attached) on the current 'sin-bin' model, there is a much more preventative process going on which supports young people before the crisis comes.

b) The model provides an important link or transition provision between school and further educational possibilities (notwithstanding that these might be remedied) for those who may most need it and for whom it is not effectively, although it might be legislatively, on offer.

We are currently investigating ways with the D.E.S. and other interested government departments, to promote the institution of some of these mechanisms on a wider scale, since nationally we are faced with some huge looming, if not present, problems. A significant minority of young people are coming out of school with five fundamental and interrelated problems.

a) they're illiterate

b) they're innumerate

c) they are unable to make appropriate responses in adult/social situations and to take their place in the community as adult citizens

d) their political knowledge in the widest sense is more or less nil

e) they are unemployable

We ignore these problems at our peril; we must all know this. Our problem is to find something to do about them and our suggestions are put forward to make some sort of a start.

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SOCIAL SKILLS TRAINING IN A PASTORAL CARE GROUP

A.D. Wooster and E.G.E. Bird

"They (the exercises) made me express my feelings more clearly, I could use better words, use the right words in the right sentences, when you use different words you find you don't have to express yourself physically a lot". The writer, a thirteen year-old boy is describing the effect of part of a pastoral care group. This group, which met twice a week for twenty-five minutes each time, contained sixteen other boys of varied ability and ethnic background. All attended an inner-city comprehensive school.

"My behaviour got a bit better because I listened to other people more and then said what I felt, which gave the person I was talking to a good reputation about me because he or she thought I was a good polite boy, I was good to talk to". This was written at the end of the year. The pastoral care tutor had set out to teach social skills; the writer had not been lectured or made to take part in moralizing debates, but trained in social skills. The tutor had set out to lead the group to interact efficiently: over the year a variety of strategies had been employed to help the children pick out the skills they needed, identify the situations where these would help, and build them into their own behaviour.

At the beginning of the year the pastoral care tutor gave himself clear goals; he defined these objectively and designed a social context for their attainment. Skills of relating were practised in structured situations. These were not games, but activities with a clear framework and a rationale usually taken from social psychology or counselling theory.

BRAINSTORMING

The technique of brainstorming can be used in many settings to broaden understanding between people. It was introduced early in the life of the pastoral care group and quickly became established as a first step in dealing with a new topic. The tutor would write on the board, "Anger is ....." and individuals would call out their interpretation of this new topic. They were encouraged to be brief, "Give another name for anger", to make the list as long as possible, to build on each others' ideas, and to be adventurous and imaginative. Every contribution was recorded without comment or evaluation from anyone.

Following a brief discussion the group would sometimes return to brainstorm the topic from another aspect, perhaps giving examples from their own experience. Often terms were made more vivid by evoking examples of what the physical experience corresponding to the term was

like; the stiffness and rigidity of anger; the heat of embarrassment; the glow of gratitude. Locating the situation in which the topic feeling was met and the parts of the body in which it was felt helped to link word and experience.

The value of brainstorming is not only cognitive. It encourages the pupil to take a risk, and, seeing that his view is accepted, he is encouraged to do more. He begins to risk divulging more of his own thought and ideas. He comes to know others and reveals himself to them. Listening he begins to develop respect for others and their thoughts. The exercise is motivational. As trust between members builds, ideas flow more freely, task performance improves because of this, and enjoyment rises.

Personal journal entries were used to record the enlarged topic after brainstorming. Vocabularies were further extended by the use of sentence completion stems: What I have been most successful in .... ; Who do I love.... ; Who loves me .... ; The happiest moment of my life .... ; I show affection by .... ; When I am angry .... ; Anger makes me .... Experience was widened by talking to others, at first in pairs, but later more publicly in threes and fours. Such sharing in the group was always voluntary, but almost all joined in. Pupils learnt about each other and showed respect for the feelings hesitantly revealed. Understanding grew as did skill in sharing. Differences became understandable and interesting. The benefits of honesty and frankness did not have to be pointed out.

CIRCLETIME

The inter-personal skills of listening and sharing were further developed by the circletime activity which sets out to build self-awareness. Circletime was developed by Timmermann and Ballard (1975) and is an activity built upon a communications laboratory model. Following this model the first step in changing relationships was to make everyone visible to everyone else. Fixtures in the room where the tutor group met did not allow the group to form a circle so they sat in a square, facing each other. The effect upon the social climate was immediately obvious in the relaxed manner of the pupils and the rise in work level; they worked more spontaneously and creatively with a higher percentage of contributions relevant to the task of the group.

Some of the topics used in the early sessions of circletime were:

A time I felt really happy,

A time I felt really scared,

A time when I was lost,

A time when I was really angry.

Meetings lasted from five to twenty minutes.

The rules were simply, "Everyone who wants to, gets a turn; everyone who takes a turn, gets listened to". Sharing was quick, everyone

had to listen to the speaker and one volunteer had to tell what he understood the speaker to say. There was no further comment, question, or discussion. Skills of sharing and listening were modelled and practised. Everyone who shared got immediate feedback in a restatement which included expression of any feelings he expressed. In this model it is the speaker's need to be listened to that takes priority so responses were limited, allowing the listeners to stay entirely focussed upon the speaker and clarifying what was said for the group without stealing the focus away. The speaker could nod his acceptance of the summary - presented by the listener in his own words - or shake his head, calling for a second attempt. Following this the focus moved on to the next speaker.

A traditional discussion group format was sometimes used to take a topic further. Members were reminded of their learning about skilful interaction elsewhere and of the advantages, highlighted in circletime, of showing respect for another by listening to his point of view. The tutor modelled a more passive role than is usual for a teacher, silently watching the temptation to project his own views or to react to his feelings of anxiety by speaking and ending silences. The discussion groups were less productive than other activities but served to highlight some of the difficulties which members still had to overcome to achieve efficient interaction.

SMALL GROUP TRAINING

Interaction between members was improved by exercises designed to sharpen skills of listening to, and recognising, feeling. Timmermann (1975) and Canfield and Wells (1976) are valuable resources for practical classroom exercises and were freely drawn upon. In one such training structure pupils paired and decided who should speak and who listen; the speaker then presented his opinion on an agreed topic for one minute, his partner listening and observing silently. The listener then told what he had heard and seen: the speaker agreed, or, if the listener had confused what he inferred with what he had seen or had misunderstood, could call for a further try.

The topics treated in this way included: How did you get to school this morning? ; What is your favourite lesson? Why?; What is your favourite football team? Tell me about them; How do you feel about coming to school?; A time when I was really happy; What I like about a particular adult; What I want to be. These examples illustrate the movement over time from non-threatening and impersonal topics to more personally revealing issues.

Following a few exchanges pairs combined to form fours. For ten minutes they would discuss the feelings they had experienced during the activities and their learnings about their own abilities as listeners; their ability to recall facts and identify feelings. The group then turned its attention to the members' own behaviour during the process of reviewing. They asked who had talked most, who least, and considered how this was related to their normal behaviour. Feedback from peers

was helpful at this point, encouraging objectivity. It was clear that untruthful or inaccurate reporting robbed the recipient of valuable information, and that without this true feedback he was at a loss to assess his own behaviour. Tact is something which must be worked at in a cooperative venture. When the feedback was completed members could ask themselves if they chose to act as they did and, if they found they had not, they were encouraged to consider alternative ways of acting which they might have used. Finally they helped each other to make planned changes, specific as to time, place, and other details,to be carried out later; changes involving new ways of acting, novel to them, but closer to their wishes.

LARGE GROUP TRAINING

As the boys became used to circletime, and small group training helped them to identify behavioural skills necessary to becoming an efficient working group, meetings of the whole membership were introduced to complete the range of social-training situations. Working together as a relaxed, cooperative learning group the boys began to identify, and use, certain norms or rules of procedure. They began to build in the practise of:

a) Showing respect through silence. Behaviour appropriate to this goal included respecting another's choice of topic whilst showing by posture and other non-verbal means that they were attending to the speaker. When the speaker chose to stop no pressure to elaborate or go on was applied.

b) Showing understanding of the message. When a member had spoken a fellow group member would paraphrase his statement so that he could be sure that he had made himself understood.

c) Rewarding effective behaviour. The member who had made the paraphrase, helping effectively by showing that communication had taken place, had to be thanked.

d) Listening actively. The group members showed their involvement with the speaker by looking carefully, and often, at the speaker. They sought to extend their understanding of his message by noting his posture, facial expression and tone of voice; checking their interpretation by paraphrasing and asking for clarification of points they had not understood.

e) Speaking actively. A message is more effectively delivered by a speaker who is alert to the responses of his listeners. Pupils were encouraged to direct their message to persons, not into space; to look directly at their audience, one at a time, watching their posture, expressions, movements and other indications of their response.

f) Attending to expressed feelings. When a speaker expressed his feelings directly the listener was encouraged to reflect them in his paraphrase, carefully avoiding any hint of deprecation. He was encouraged not to suggest, by his wording or manner, that feelings needed to be defended of excused.

g) Facilitating direct expression of feelings. When feelings were not expressed directly, but the listener considered that they were indicated by the speaker's behaviour or form of speech, he could ask for confirmation that his inference was correct. If the speaker agreed then he could be asked to state his feelings directly in the interest of clear communication. When he did so his statement would be paraphrased without deprecating his feelings.

Gradually these communication norms became accepted and used more and more often during interaction. They were used by the boys because, having tried them out, considered and discussed them they saw them to be practical. Because they worked these patterns of behaviour began to be used in situations outside the pastoral care meetings. Efficient co-operation in other task situations became obvious as boys combined to help each other, using the skills they had tested and decided to adopt.

CREATIVE FANTASY

Fantasy is widely practised. Structured opportunities for fantasy were introduced to the group to extend the self-awareness of the boys. Both guided and unguided fantasies yielded personal material for discussion which was vital and involving for them. The boys handled the material carefully and selectively. They revealed only what they wished and were tactful and sensitive in discussing their fantasy experiences.

The exercises developed imagination as a tool, improving observation and reporting, and encouraging reflection. A brief fantasy journey was often a good way of changing the pace of a meeting; by freeing the child from the restraints he saw in everyday life fantasies could sometimes help him to see novel solutions to problems and enrich his thinking as it contributed to his personal freedom. As work in the clinical field has shown visualization and imagination can be enlisted to redirect emotion and change attitudes.

Fantasy and daydreaming were introduced by discussion. The experiences were common; examples from his own experience were provided by the tutor and others flowed from the group. Advantages were discussed and those who chose tried a simple situation. Placing their heads on their arms and leaning on the table top they sat comfortably with eyes closed. Guidelines for the process of the fantasy were given by the tutor; speaking in a quiet, even voice he directed their attention outward to noises around them, room temperature, pressure from the seat and table. Next attention was led inward as the class attended to the sensation of breathing, to the difference in feeling tone between muscles when deliberately held tense and when relaxed, and to their bodies as they allowed them to go limp. As they sat relaxed the early exercises guided them on simple imaginary journeys; perhaps revisiting a place where they had been very happy, or a seaside or country scene which had given them pleasure. They returned from this mental journey by imagining themselves catching a train or bus.

As they talked in small groups, discussing their reactions to the same instructions, members could see that their interpretations of those instructions and the experiences which followed varied widely. It became clear that no one answer or response was correct. Some people expressed surprise that where they had imagined only one answer could be correct several alternatives were both possible and acceptable. This insight made creativity permissible and freed the imagination.

When selecting methods to be included in the programme fantasy had seemed a way of preparing these third-year pupils for career counselling sessions in the fourth and fifth year. It was selected to help develop lateral thinking and so enable the boys to widen their thinking about choices open to them. It was also expected to lead to more effective problem solving because of this. As a tool for helping children to consider the future and the possible outcomes of their choices guided fantasy is both involving and intriguing. When he is describing the jobs he daydreams about an interviewee often gives the counsellor material and direction so that he may offer help which is perceived as more practical and personal. In the pastoral care group the response was encouraging and the tutor felt he had a tool for further work.

DEVELOPING REFLECTION AND INSIGHT

As the boys began to work together more easily, topics directing attention to their own ways of interacting were introduced. Acceptance, the first such topic, is typical. Outlines suggested by Timmermann and Ballard (1975) were adapted to provide a plan. The topic was chosen to help the boys:

a) Understand that acceptance is a common need,

b) Recognise the sort of thing they did because they wanted to be accepted,

c) Accept more aspects of themselves, and

d) See more ways of giving and gaining acceptance, choosing more effectively from a widened range of possibilities.

Brainstorming the term acceptance allowed the group to share the meaning the term had for them and widen their understanding. Meaning was extended to non-verbal connotations, and these, in turn, were deepened by appropriate experience gained in two sessions of activities simulating joining, leaving or being accepted by a group. Difficulties associated with joining a group were brought out by forming a circle of seven members who linked arms and vigorously resisted a volunteer's attempts to break in. Physical activity and personal contact heightened awareness of the feelings aroused by the attempt to join a new group, freeing participants to recall similar experiences met elsewhere. Breaking out of a closed circle was equally effective in forming links with experiences met by members when leaving groups and breaking off associations.

Feelings aroused by being ignored and reactions to that experience

were explored in the second session. In turn each member of a five-man group spent a couple of minutes trying to gain the attention of the others and tell them something important about himself. They, meanwhile, did all they could, short of physical violence or leaving, to ignore him. Reviewing what they had just done members related their behaviour to their usual methods of rejecting others, or trying to gain acceptance. Finally each noted in his journal the methods he adopted to break in or out of a group, or to make another feel unaccepted. "I try to impress them in some way" one recorded; another wrote, "I try to talk my way in". To ignore a person, "... I am mean to them or hit them", "..Not listening to them" was much used, although it was generally recognised as "mean". Many recognised that they set out to buy acceptance by giving, some, more insightful saw the need to be kind to others, but, as one put it, "... in their own way". Stress was laid on the need to show acceptance clearly, for example by ".... putting on a smile". "What does it take me to accept someone? It doesn't take me nothing", one boy asserted. He explained, "I just ask questions, get friendly, and I think that's it - you've just made a friend or you've accepted someone". He himself felt most accepted when, "... people be kind to me, and offer me things, and talk to me, ask me how I am? That sort of thing".

PLANNING FOR CHANGE

As the boys began to talk more freely it became clear that they did not see themselves as able to achieve very much. Chance ruled their lives. They did not even recognise the abilities they had. Dismayed by this attitude and the lack of motivation it produced the tutor introduced activities to produce evidence of the ability to succeed. Only success, he reasoned, would convince the boys of their ability to structure some aspects of their lives.

In the third term he asked each boy to note on an index card some small change in his own behaviour that he would like to bring about. Each Monday boys chose a goal, recorded it, and pinned the card below the bar of a large cardboard 'H' shaped rugby goal post. When he judged that he had successfully achieved his objective a boy would 'convert' his card above the cross-bar and score. He could then set himself a new goal. Behavioural goals and their achievement or non-achievement were recorded, with any comment he wished to add, by each boy. For example one recorded in his journal:

		Achieved		
Day		Yes	No	Comment
Monday	I hope to help my Mum	/		I washed up
Tuesday	Listen to people when talking	/		Did quite well
Wednesday	Not to talk in Maths		/	
Thursday	Try not to hit my brother	/		Tempted!
Friday	To arrive on time	/		On the third attempt

At first many pupils set themselves targets that were too wide and general. These were impossible to achieve. Almost always they focussed on doing well in a particular school subject that day. The result was a confused, idiosyncratic assessment where the boy had failed to give himself clear guidelines for judging success or failure. Frustrated and dispirited the tutor group met to hammer out a more useful and practical way of working. They chose to try for small objectives, easy to achieve and defined in terms of observable behaviour. From such vague and general goals as, "Do well in all lessons", "Be good every day this week", "Be cool this week", the group moved to more concrete goals with clear criteria of success or failure: "I will try to attend school on correct time in the morning and afternoon", "Try not to talk to Wayne in maths", "I must make friends and talk to ....".

Changing his own behaviour was regarded as the boy's choice. Help in planning the change; the design and sequence of stages; the evaluation of results; was built into the course. Experience of working together to review their own behaviour after exercises was frequent, and the boys learned to help each other to consider alternative ways of behaving, define them, specify time and place for the attempt on a new strategy, and to contract to meet and review the experience.

Personal journals were provided. In them the boys could keep a private record of their reactions to the course, noting what had happened and how they had felt and acted. Attempts at change, outcomes and revised plans could be recorded. They knew that the tutor needed to know their views and came to share them more frequently as the year went on, assured that they would not be quoted without permission. The written comment was a valuable supplement to the tutor's own observations.

REVIEWING THE YEAR

The course began with many problems to overcome. The tutor himself was being trained in group work, experiencing a range of situations where structure varied from high to low, and was struggling to develop a vocabulary to describe those experiences. Although his colleagues on the training course, and the university tutors, provided support the early days of the venture required a great deal of faith. Pupils seemed slow in adapting to new classroom conditions, the exercises did not always seem to produce what was expected, and the energy and enthusiasm of both tutor and tutees fluctuated from week to week.

Learning was two-way. The group learned about their tutor and he learned about them. On both sides the learning was more personal than is usual, and this was clearly recognised by the tutor. He worked to build trust in the group. He modelled trusting behaviour and tried to be obviously trustworthy. He was more open about himself than had been his custom, and that included being open about areas of his life he did not feel free to share, or did not wish to share. He was rewarded by the growth of trust and feelings of comradeship between members of the group; a group of which he was clearly a valued member.

The benefits of the group were not only social. The feeling, and evidence, of being united in a cooperative learning enterprise gained strength over the year. The group became an increasingly efficient working group as potential sources of distraction were reduced by deliberate attention to group process. Members learned about each other and the ways in which they learned. They learned about social interaction - how to get on with people - and the skills necessary to that end. More open interaction was seen, pupils talked about things of importance to them, confident that they would be listened to as people with something of importance to say. By sharing their feelings with the tutor and their peers they improved their ability to handle emotional exchanges. Their responses to emotional situations became more considered, less stereotyped, as they drew upon a widened range of experience.

The tutor group provided the boys with experience of an alternative society. A social climate in which a wider range of learning could be successfully undertaken. Practising and rehearsing communication skills helped them as persons, members of a social group, and as scholars. Skills of interaction, of attending and expressing, gave members the tools to obtain insight into themselves and others. They have been helped to go into new situations - learning situations - more open to whatever the situation has to teach.

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SECTION IV

WIDER PERSPECTIVES

PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES AND PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENT BEHAVIOUR

Bill Gillham

Although individual psychologists sometimes establish a degree of credibility, as a whole, Child Guidance and School Psychological Services are not usually seen as providing effective help in dealing with problems of adolescent behaviour in school. This very general impression is almost entirely justified by the evidence. However, since the present evidence is based on ways of working which, slowly and unevenly, are changing, it can be expected that educational psychologists may be a more important resource in the future than they have been in the past. In making these changes psychologists have had to free themselves from some of the ideas and assumptions that have governed past practice.

Something of an historical perspective is required first. Although the first educational psychologist was appointed in 1913 (Sir Cyril Burt, half-time with the London County Council) there were still fewer than half-a-dozen in the country when the first Child Guidance Clinics were set up some twenty years later. Thus, although the earliest educational psychologists worked independently, providing a service to schools, the time of expansion came with the emergence of the Child Guidance movement and a style of working which proved so powerful that it soon came to dominate practice. Deriving its main impetus from the Mental Health movement of the 1920's, Child Guidance possessed an altruism and idealism that characterised many people of that generation who wanted to create a better world, particularly for the children who were going to inherit it. But if the motivation behind the movement was impeccable in its moral quality, we can now see that it was based on a number of assumptions that are largely mistaken. We need to examine these if we are to understand why it is necessary to work in a different way.

Child Guidance was seen as a preventive approach: the early treatment of what were regarded as the antecendents of disorders which manifested themselves in adult life. This approach derives from the psychoanalytic view that adult disorders originate in unresolved neurotic conflicts developed in childhood. If this were true then effective treatment of childhood problems would lead to a more mentally healthy adult population and would justify intensive individual attention from a team of psychological specialists.

The Child Guidance team normally comprised a child psychiatrist who took 'case responsibility', which meant that he made the 'diagnosis' and directed the course of treatment; an educational psychologist who was expected to do psychometric testing and to maintain liaison with

the school; a psychiatric social worker who investigated the family history and did 'casework' with the parents; and a child psychotherapist who saw children individually, usually for a form of play therapy and for periods ranging from several months to a few years. It is immediately obvious that this is a very expensive and time-consuming approach to children's problems and so could not hope to reach all children who experience difficulties. Trained professionals have always been in short supply and child psychotherapists are almost unknown outside London. The service is also dependent upon referral from outside agencies which means that whether or not a child gets help depends upon the knowledge and attitudes of his doctor, teacher, parents and so on. In one sense it is perhaps fortunate that there has been such a selective bias in referral because, as it turned out, clinics could not cope with the numbers of children who were referred. The Child Guidance waiting list became a legend, occasionally jumped by children whose problems were unusually dramatic. Since the period of waiting was commonly several months and sometimes more than a year, schools in particular felt that effectively they had no service and were not considered in the Child Guidance scheme of things. In this they were quite correct since the psychoanalytic view was that children's problems had their roots in family relationships and that treatment had to be focussed accordingly. There was also a strong tradition in Child Guidance that schools showed a selfish preoccupation in expressing more concern about difficult and disruptive children than nervous or withdrawn children, who, it was assumed, were the ones with the real problmes. This tendency was shown in an influential study by Wickman (1928) in the United States and was held up as an example of how teachers failed to appreciate the true priorities. It is probably true that Wickman's teachers and others since then were not entirely disinterested in the way they framed their priorities but, motives apart, recent longitudinal research has shown that the teachers were right.

Robins (1966) in a study entitled Deviant Children Grown Up was able to follow up two groups of people who, as children, had been diagnosed as having either primarily 'neurotic' or primarily 'sociopathic' disorders; she compared them with a 'normal' group who had not been so diagnosed. She found that in adult life there was very little difference between the 'normal' group and the group who had been diagnosed as 'neurotic' as children; but the group who had been diagnosed as 'sociopathic' in childhood showed, as adults, more disorders of all kinds including outright psychosis. There are a number of other studies that point in the same direction, although usually the evidence is less complete (Robins, 1970). This sort of data means that Child Guidance was wrong in one of its basic assumptions: that the children with the worst long-term mental health outcome were those children who displayed neurotic behaviour. Ironically, children who displayed anti-social behaviour were not seen as suitable for Child Guidance treatment because they were presumed to be 'acting out' their problems rather than verbalising them and so probably lacked the capacity or willingness to gain 'insight' into their difficulties - 'insight' being one of the major goals of treatment.

But did Child Guidance, in the long term, really help those children who did receive and accept treatment? Levitt (1957, 1971) analysed eighteen studies investigating the outcome of treatment. He found that with a total of 3,400 children, a little over 67 per cent were rated as improved at the end of the treatment period. He compared these with two studies that had focussed on children who had been on clinic waiting lists but whose parents had declined treatment; 72.5 per cent were rated as improved. These figures are very similar to the recovery rates for 'treated' and 'untreated' adults (Eysenck, 1952).

Levitt also looked at the relationship between rate of improvement and the time when the problems had first been presented. He found an almost perfect correlation, which led him to suggest that change is a function of time rather than treatment. This view is supported by a number of studies that have looked at the 'untreated' disappearance of emotional or behavioural problems (e.g. Cummings, 1944, 1946; Shepherd et al., 1971). Shepherd and his associates followed up approximately 400 children who had been rated as 'deviant' on the basis of a number of signs of behavioural and emotional disturbance. At the end of a three year period 20 per cent were effectively free of these signs of disturbance and a further 50 per cent were much improved - the same rate of change as for those children in the study who had received help from Child Guidance Clinics.

On the basis of this sort of evidence it is not difficult to see why Tizard (1973), in an important review of Child Guidance, should describe it as 'wrongly conceived'. Tizard criticised in particular the professionals' style of working primarily from clinics remote the contexts, such as schools, where the problems actually occurred. He suggested that psychologists should regard schools as their work base and that, when necessary, they could get in touch with clinics by telephone. Tizard's suggestion is particularly apt if one takes the view that the school itself may be a factor in the problems children present there. This is a surprisingly recent point of view.

Such a perspective does not imply that we shift the blame and talk about 'maladjusted' teachers rather than 'maladjusted' children - but note how offensive that sounds; as Hargreaves (1978) points out, only children are liable to these sub-psychiatric labels. Rather it is a matter of seeing children's behaviour and emotional problems from an interactive viewpoint, as something that occurs in relation to other people and in the context of the demands and constraints of the situation. This is not to say that children, like the rest of us, do not come to a given situation with particular expectations, attitudes and other predispositions - although these are difficult to assess - but that what actually happens in behavioural and emotional terms depends very much on the nature of the encounter. To a great extent children in different situations are different children. You can find this even within a school where one teacher teaching one subject has quite a different experience of a child from a colleague who teaches him another subject. Which one is the 'real' child?

The home-school difference was clearly revealed in a study by Rutter et al. (1970). Rutter and his colleagues carried out a large-scale epidemiological study in the Isle of Wight. Among other things they asked the teachers and parents of over 2,000 children in the age-range 10-11 years to complete a check-list of items indicative of behavioural and emotional problems. Those children who had more than a certain number of items checked (about 13 per cent of the total) were then interviewed by psychiatrists and further information was obtained from their parents.

It was finally decided that 118 (5.4 per cent) of the children could be considered as disturbed and it was found that, of these, teachers and parents had identified the same number of children but by and large they had selected different children. In other words the situation was a major factor in the 'disturbance'. What this means is that for a child to get into difficulties a number of things have to come together, including the child's attitudes and vulnerabilities - but also how he is handled and the demands that are being made on him.

If this is true, and if schools vary, then we should find differences between individual schools in terms of the number of children who become delinquent or who manifest 'disturbed' or 'maladjusted' behaviour. Until very recently there were almost no studies that provided evidence on this point. However, the work of David Reynolds at Cardiff (Reynolds, 1977) and, in particular, the major study by Michael Rutter and his colleagues in twelve London schools (Rutter et al., 1979) provide an unarguable case that schools are a major influence on attainments and behaviour irrespective of home background, in the sense that schools dealing with very similar intakes get very different results. Whether or not a child becomes delinquent of maladjusted depends to a considerable extent on what school he goes to.

Of course, this could be construed as an attack on schools, but that would be a negative interpretation. It is unfortunate that the first study to report this kind of data in the United Kingdom (Power et al., 1967) took such a view, publishing their findings under the heading Delinquent Schools? It was only to be expected that such a report would result in a defensive response from the education authority and the teacher unions - which it did. Power and his colleagues found, for example, that delinquency rates varied from 6 to 77 per 1,000 children in schools taking a very similar population. It could be argued that the schools with the high rates were failing; a more positive view is that some schools were remarkably successful in preventing delinquency in vulnerable children. In other words they were succeeding where almost all other agencies were failing - Child Guidance included. The important questions for practice are concerned with how these schools were succeeding, and what could be done to make other schools equally effective. This brings us back to a consideration of Child Guidance and the role of the educational psychologist.

Whitmore (1972) in an overview of Child Guidance and the problem of maladjusted children observes that it 'is often thought of as a

preventive service and it was the dream of pioneer clinics that they would reduce the incidence of mental disorder in children. This dream has not really come true, for children only make contact with the service when a problem has arisen that their parents and/or teachers cannot manage'. (p. 11). Once problems have emerged, and this is particularly true of behaviour problems as we have seen, they develop a kind of maintaining power - the child develops his delinquent role in the school and other people come to expect it of him and behave accordingly. But in schools where there is a low rate of delinquency, despite the vulnerability of the children, the problem is being prevented in the real sense of the term. However, it is important not to overstate the case. Even with the best possible school regime there remains a hard core of children who cannot or will not respond to attempts to understand them or meet their needs - at least within the setting of a large secondary school. In such cases withdrawal to a special unit or school is probably justified; but since the behaviour of such children often settles down very quickly in the new situation, the validity of the basic argument remains.

But what about a more tough-minded approach? A common argument at all levels of our society is that what the young 'deliquent' wants is not treatment by soft-minded psychologists and the like but a 'short, sharp shock' - court appearance and possibly Borstal training or some other secure placement. Such treatment, in fact, has less effect than Child Guidance which is at least innocuous. Tutt (1980) in a review of the evidence points out that a court appearance actually increases the likelihood that further offences will be committed.

What we are gradually coming to realise is that of all the social influences we bring to bear on children, and over which we have some control, schools seem to be the most effective change agents at present available. There seems to be no treatment so successful as a good school. But what characterises a good school in this sense?

Reynolds (1977) found that successful schools were not those with 'external' advantages like better buildings and other resources, but those with well-organised formal and informal rule-systems and little corporal punishment. In other words, 'internal' characteristics determined standards of behaviour and attainments.

Rutter et al. (1979) looked into the characteristics of 'therapeutic' schools in greater detail than Reynolds and came up with the following key features:

a) degree of academic emphasis;

b) lessons prepared in advance;

c) level of expectation of academic and social behaviour;

d) models of behaviour provided by teachers;

e) consistency of school values and rules;

f) good maintenance of decorations and care of school building generally;

g) shared activities between staff and pupils;

h) good conditions for children;

i) giving children positions of responsibility;

j) emphasis on reward and recognition;

k) opportunities for pupil success and achievement.

All of these points are fairly general but they provide some sort of structure for thinking about behaviour problems in a particular school setting. For the educational psychologist they have implications as to how he might provide a more effective service for secondary schools.

It is clear that a different model of working is required, related to the school as a system made up of individuals with their particular quirks and characteristics, and in interaction with each other. This model is already in operation in another sector of our society which is also made up of hierarchically organised institutions of people, namely, the factories and offices of commerce. The people who run these institutions commonly have problems with their work force and can call on occupational psychologists to help them. Neither the managers nor the psychologists think in terms of 'maladjusted' workers nor do they seek to explain their difficult behaviour in terms of their home background; and the personnel manager who suggested that a worker should see a psychologist for treatment would probably find himself in a very difficult situation. Depending on the problem, the occupational psychologist will look at such things as:

a) communications within the factory;

b) whether workers are getting fair recognition of their needs and achievements;

c) whether there are difficulties for the foremen in carrying out some of their supervisory functions;

d) whether the tasks are well suited to individual workers;

and so on.
Here the psychologist's role is more like that of a practical research worker than a therapist/clinician. He has to get to know individuals and gain their trust; he has to get the 'feel' of working in the office or factory; and he has to be systematic and objective. He has to be in it but not of it.

Because of his semi-detached position in relation to schools - he has no particular interest except to make the system work more effectively for <u>all</u> the people in it - the educational psychologist is well-placed to take on this researcher/consultant role. Such a role is not yet common but it is no longer rare and psychologists are starting to write up their findings (Figg and Ross, 1980).

Most psychological services are still understaffed, and are likely to remain so in the present economic climate. So, although a change in style of working has become necessary anyway on grounds of effectiveness, it is rendered urgent by the impossible demands of individual referrals that are made after the problem has blown up. In this model the psychologist can only offer too little, too late.

For the educational psychologist the first step in the new direction is to allocate a regular amount of time to individual schools and to visit as a matter of routine, not just in response to a referral through the post. On its own this step is not enough. It rationalises the allocation of time and the number of individual children who can be dealt with, but it is still possible for the psychologist to carry round his clinic on his back: to see children for interviewing and testing in a clinic-type room, have a cursory and superficial discussion with the class teacher, and send in the standard report that adds nothing to what is known already. Before he deals with any individual child's problems he needs to get to know the people in the school, how it organises itself in relation to children with behavioural or learning problems, what it is trying to achieve as a school, what the resources are, and so on. A child's difficulties in school, and possible remedial action, only make sense in the context of this kind of knowledge. From the starting point of a specific problem with a particular child the educational psychologist needs to be able to frame his recommendations and action in terms of what he knows about the school. In consequence, a particular child's difficulties may highlight a general problem - for example, a lack of a clear procedure for dealing with confrontations in the classroom and the need for a mutual recognition amongst the staff that seeking this kind of help is not an admission of failure. It is, I suggest, the psychologist's job to point out the necessity for these kinds of changes in the system of the school and to be involved in initiating them. This is a much more 'interfering' role than the traditional one: in the past the educational psychologist may have been useless but at least he was tame. His efforts towards a more effective role mean that he needs a helping hand from the schools he is trying to serve.

There are a number of things that make it difficult for a professional to change his role - the inertia of an established way of working, disagreement with colleagues, the problem of working out a new role in practice; and also that schools and other agencies have acquired a stereotyped expectation of what an educational psychologist should do. This last point may sound like shifting the blame, but in fact we are all, to some extent, determined and controlled by the tacit expectations and assumptions of the people we encounter in our personal and professional lives. If educational psychologists are to be more effective they have to develop new ways of working; they are greatly helped in achieving this if teachers know what they are trying to do and can see the potential of these new developments. Psychologists are trying to reconstruct their profession so as to deliver a more useful service to schools; schools, in their turn, can assist the delivery.

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BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS IN SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL-BASED IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Ronald Davie

The Conference which prompted this paper referred to "the challenge of behaviour problems" in comprehensive schools and it will be clear from the range of topics tackled at the Conference that this phrase was interpreted widely. We will be concerned in this paper, then, not only with behaviour which presents an overt problem to teachers in the form of aggression and disruption, for example, but also with behaviour which represents an opting out of the school situation. In its most conventional form, we recognise this in the child who truants from school - who 'votes with his feet' - but we may see it, too, within school as poor motivation, inattention, educational underfunctioning, apathy or even as depression.

There can be no reasonable doubt that home circumstances as well as wider, cultural and societal factors play an important part in producing this range of problems. The balance of contributory factors will obviously differ from one child to another but there will also be variation between social and ethnic groups and between regions and local areas. In addition, the problems will vary over time as, for example attitudes to authority change, or employment prospects fluctuate. Most of these circumstances are outside schools' control or influence. In that sense, then, we could regard children's behaviour in school as a mirror to society. But is this model of the school's role an appropriate one? Does it convey the complete picture?

The general - as well as the pedagogical - view on such questions would be that the mirror model is too static, too passive to do justice to what happens in schools. We all feel that schools do make a difference and not just at the academic level but in terms of the way in which children behave towards each other and towards teachers and adults generally at least within the school situation. Nevertheless, before rejecting the mirror model entirely, we ought to note that a considerable body of evidence seems to indicate that external factors are of major, almost overwhelming, importance (e.g. Coleman, 1966; Jencks et al., 1972; Peaker, 1967 and Wiseman, 1967). There is, however, more recent evidence in Britain (e.g. Gath et al., 1977; Power et al., 1972; and Reynolds and Murgatroyd, 1977) that differences between schools in terms of their 'output' (examination results, behaviour in school, truancy, delinquency, referrals to child guidance clinics) cannot be wholly explained in terms or their 'input' (i.e. the ability level, academic level, social characteristics of children entering the school). These two bodies of research evidence have been well reviewed recently by Rutter and his colleagues, who also discuss their own findings (Rutter et al., 1979).

For the purpose of the present paper, we shall make the assumption that a careful evaluation of the evidence accords with the general view that what schools do, matters. The precise balance of the internal and external factors will be very difficult to determine in general and in any event will vary from school to school so that it may be considered to be largely of academic interest, although it may have general policy implications.

If, then, we accept the proposition that what goes on in schools makes an important difference to the behaviour of pupils, the question arises: how can we help teachers to acquire new knowledge or skills in dealing with behaviour problems in schools, where this is necessary? The traditional way of tackling this question is at the level of the individual teacher. In-service training is almost invariably undertaken at this level and it normally takes place, whether full-time or part-time, outside the school. An important limitation of this approach, apart from the size of the operation, is that the teacher has to function within the institutional framework of his school; and although this can provide opportunities for new ideas and new methods of working to take root, it is more likely to exercise a constraining or inhibiting influence.

Another strategy for change is through publications which bring new ideas and research evidence to the attention of individual teachers. However, there must be considerable doubt about the present effectiveness of this. Many (probably most) researchers have a long way to go before they can translate (sic) their findings and conclusions for practitioners. Even where this task is carried out by others, as in the excellent series of brief research digests published by the National Children's Bureau, it does not often reach individual teachers except in the context of in-service training. The one strategy for change at the individual level which can quite clearly be effective is the appointment of a new headteacher. The fact that change does not always follow this, or is not always positive and effective, highlights the difficulty of selecting people for these key positions when their previous professional experience may only be marginally relevant. It also pinpoints the paucity of training and guidance for headteachers.

Significantly, though, when as a visitor we evaluate a headteacher (albeit subjectively and imperfectly) we are less impressed by what he as an individual says in the privacy of his study than by what we see around us as we make our way through the school. If we have occasion to comment afterwards we normally find ourselves referring to the 'tone' or 'atmosphere' of the school, the morale of the staff, the corporate behaviour of the pupils, etc. In other words, our evaluation tends to be based upon an amalgam of impressions and observations. This amalgam comprises our assessment of individual discussions and our observations of individuals' behaviour and work but it includes the physical appearance of the school and its displays, the state of its equipment, etc. And all of these many parts are subtly and intricately related to each other, so that what a school is and what it does in toto can be viewed as a system which is to some extent independent of the individuals who belong to it.

It is easy to see where this line of argument is leading us. Some hardened practitioners can no doubt already discern yet another educational bandwagon beginning to roll. (And bandwagons, as we know, have a habit of turning into hearses!) There is certainly this danger; and in the industrial world the phrase 'organisational development' is, one understands, on the lips of every young executive together with subsidiary terms like 'change agent' and 'catalyst'. However, there is very little new under the sun, and stripped of the jargon the basic idea is certainly not novel in education. It was what every general inspection by Her Majesty's Inspectors was designed to initiate; and it is what every new headteacher hopes to achieve and what every existing, effective headteacher strives to continue.

Let us review the position so far, then. We have assumed that what a school does with and for its pupils has important implications for the way the pupils respond. It affects their behaviour and therefore their 'behaviour problems'. At the classroom level, we are thinking, for example, about the way in which lessons are structured, the relationship between individual staff and pupils, the standards - academic and behavioural - which are set and whether homework is set and marked. At a more general level, we may consider the uniformity of standards between teachers, the procedures for the induction of new pupils and new staff, how the pastoral care system operates, what punishments or sanctions are used, whether the school is organised on hierarchical lines, how the pupils are involved in the life of the school and what contacts there are between staff and parents. As we have indicated, these are not independent elements. The pastoral care system will be linked in some way to the punishments used and also to the management system of the school. The confidence of young teachers will be affected by the support they receive in their early years and the standards they set in the classroom will be affected by implicit or explicit standards they see around them and so on.

Our thesis, then, is that if any change proves to be necessary, it is unlikely to be achieved by the piecemeal methods which the traditional in-service training of teachers involves. However, it is also unlikely to be achieved merely by changing formal structures, since in the last resort it is the individual teachers and pupils who have to relate effectively to each other. One thing is certain, there will be no universal panacea, no detailed formula which can be applied to every school. The best way forward would seem to be to seek for ways of helping each school to examine its present situation, to identify its strengths and its limitations and to plan accordingly.

One way to achieve this is through school-based in-service training, although this expression may also imply a narrow concept which is merely concerned with imparting a body of professional knowledge or skills to a school staff. 'Staff development' is another term sometimes used in this context but this, too, may have a narrower connotation than the idea we have in mind. 'Institutional change' is in some ways a more accurate description although it has an impersonal ring with a hint of jargon. The same can be said, of course, about 'organisational development'. Perhaps the expression does not matter unduly provided we understand the essential ingredients; and 'school-based in-service training' will suit our purpose.

These ingredients are, first, that the individual school is the central focus. Secondly, at any one time there will probably be a theme or objective, which may be, for example, to examine mixed ability teaching, curriculum development, the integration of handicapped children, or behaviour problems in school. The third element is perhaps the most important, for this is concerned with some analysis of the present position in the school. Without this phase it is difficult to see how any direction can be imparted to the in-service training, which is relevant to the particular needs of the school. Fourthly, the school will need to decide on some course(s) of action and some objectives in the light of the preceding analysis. The final ingredient is also an important one to stress, if only because it is apt to be overlooked. This comprises some monitoring or evaluation of the action in the light of the objectives which have been identified. This may lead to some re-analysis of the situation, which in turn may indicate new or modified action.

We have thus far been considering behaviour problems in schools in rather general terms. Let us now put some flesh on the bones and examine a new scheme in South East Wales which is designed to help schools cope with these problems through school-based in-service training. It is a co-operative venture involving three local education authorities (South and Mid Glamorgan and Gwent), the individual schools in these authorities and the Department of Education, University College, Cardiff (Davie, 1980).

At the centre of the scheme is a 2-year, part-time University-based course which can be taken in the context of either a B.Ed. or M.Ed. degree. The course is entitled, "Behaviour Problems and Learning Difficulties in Schools". Meetings were held initially with the secondary headteachers of each authority in order to explain the nature of the course and, subsequently, meetings have been held at intervals to discuss progress and answer queries. It was made clear from the outset that the course is in a sense a contract with the school. If the headteachers wished their school to participate, they had to nominate a senior colleague to represent the school on the course - or they could enrol themselves. The participating teachers understood that they would have the same workload and examination demands as any other student but that our real objective was to help their schools through them rather than to advance their own professional development. The headteachers were told that the nominated teacher (who had also to be approved by the local authority) should be in their senior management team and must be someone whose judgement they trust and whose judgement and opinion is respected in the staff room. The quality of the course, the headteachers were told, and the likelihood of benefit to the school both depend upon the quality of the colleagues whom they were to nominate. At the same time no solutions were promised. Heavy emphasis was to be laid upon these experienced teachers learning from each other as well as from outside speakers (including practitioners) and from the academic staff of the Department. In the first year the full complement of teachers - agreed with the local authorities - was enrolled and these included 5 headteachers, 20 deputies and heads of school and 5 senior

year tutors. The enrolment for the second year is similar in size and composition but also includes two primary school deputy heads.

It is, of course, too early yet to think of any firm evaluation of the course (although detailed monitoring is being undertaken) but many headteachers have reported that their nominated colleague is clearly benefiting personally. However, there was no serious doubt that this would happen in most cases; the critical question is whether the schools will benefit and, if so, how. It should also be mentioned that the participating teachers feel under considerable pressure not just because their workload on the course and at school is a heavy one but also because of the responsibility they feel for carrying their schools along with them and promoting some constructive developments.

One feature of the course is worth special consideration because it may be a key (not the key) to such developments. Each participating teacher is required to undertake three 'school-based studies' as part of the course. The studies constitute attempts to provide the third element of the school-based in-service training described above, namely, they are descriptions and analyses of some aspects of the current situation in a school. The first school-based study is carried out in the teachers' own schools and the other two are undertaken in other schools represented on the course. This is achieved by exchange placements between pairs of teachers for a period of seven to ten days.

The written studies are submitted for marking as course-work but are then intended to be used as discussion papers within the schools. They have presented some difficulties mainly because the teachers (with one exception) are not social scientists and yet the empirical analyses required call upon this kind of discipline. In order to assist them in formulating a plan for these studies, a guideline document was drafted, discussed by them in groups and then finalised in the light of their comments and suggestions. This document has twelve main sections each of which contains a number of questions suggesting an analysis of some aspect of the problems, practices or procedures relevant to behaviour or learning difficulties. The main sections with some sample questions from each are as follows:

The Nature of the Behaviour Problems and Poor Adjustment in the School

Specify, or define, as closely and as objectively as possible (or as practicable) both the major and the minor problems of behaviour and adjustment which are of concern to the school and to parents (including difficulties such as social isolation, unforthcomingness, symptoms of stress.

Are these problems qualitatively the same for different pupils or for different groups of pupils? Or does their nature vary with pupils' age, ability, sex, home background, neighbourhood or any other factor?

Does the nature of the problems vary with any characteristics of the staff (e.g. age/experience/seniority, sex, subject)?

Prevalence

How frequently does each of these problems (or groups of problems) occur?

Does the prevalence of any of the problems vary with any characteristics of the pupils (e.g. age, ability, sex, background, attitude)?

Learning Difficulties in School

Accepting that virtually all pupils have some learning difficulty at some time, what particular difficulties pose special problems for the school or need some special arrangements (e.g. backwardness or retardation in reading or mathematics, general educational backwardness)? How does the school identify or define these difficulties?

What proportion of these pupils would also constitute problems as defined in the questions above? Does this proportion vary with the year group?

Perception of the Problems by the Staff

How are each of the problems perceived by you and by your colleagues? Are they seen as equally serious by all? If not, How do these perceptions differ? Are any such differences in perception related to any characteristics of staff (e.g. age, experience, sex, subject)?

Perception of the Problems by Pupils

Have you got (or could you get) any evidence about how the pupils involved see the situations (e.g. "I can't help it, sir"; "It's the other kids; they egg me on, miss"; "My Dad says I'm better off at home"; "The teachers keep picking on me, sir"; "I'm fed up with school"; "Dunno")?

Perception of the Problems by Parents

Have you got (or could you get) any evidence about how the parents of the pupuls involved see the situations?

Perception of the Problems by Non-Teaching Staff of the School, School Governors, Local Community

Have you got (or could you get) any evidence about how any of the above (or any other relevant groups) see the situations (e.g. caretaker, school meals staff, bus conductors, Park Superintendents, Local Press)?

Punishments

Has the school any explicit rules governing the conduct/behaviour of the pupils? How are these arrived at and communicated to staff, pupils and parents?

Are the punishments linked specifically to particular kinds of behaviour? If not, why not? If so, how is this communicated to staff, pupils and parents?

What evidence is there that the punishments are effective? Are your colleagues satisfied with the above arrangements?

Pastoral Care

Is there a pastoral care structure as such in your school? If so: Is the structure described in writing for staff, pupils and/or parents? If not, why not?

Incentives

What are the explicit or implicit 'incentives' for satisfactory, or highly commendable, behaviour on the part of pupils in your school?

Involvement of Outside Agencies

Under what circumstances are any outside agencies meant to be involved in any of the range of problems (e.g. Educational Welfare Officers, Educational Psychologists, Clergyman, Social Worker, School Doctor, School Nurse, Probation Officer, Police)?

How are the circumstances communicated to staff, pupils and/or parents? Is the communication effective?

How does the 'theoretical' situation with regard to the involvement of outside agencies measure up to what has actually happened over, say, the past six months?

Perception of the Outside Agencies of Involvement in the School's Problems

Have you got (or could you get) any information about how the various agencies see their involvement (or potential involvement) with the problems? Have they the same expectations as the school?

The first of these school-based studies have been completed and many of them have aroused considerable interest in the schools; and action has already been initiated by some. For example, one study contained a relatively simple three-week survey of disruptive incidents reported by a small sample of teachers of 4th year pupils in one school. This has led to a re-scheduled timetable on Tuesday mornings for a 'non-academic' group. The reported result was a marked improvement in the behaviour of these pupils over the six-week period following the change and up to the time when the school-based study was written. This example demonstrates very well the side connotation of the term 'school-based in-service training' in this context. The results of this small-scale survey did not lead to a series of workshops or lectures nor even to a staff meeting discussion (although any of these things could have happened). Instead, the results of the survey were carefully considered by the teachers principally concerned who, presumably, analysed likely reasons for the Tuesday morning peak of disruptive incidents and took - apparently successful - remedial action.

One interesting aspect of this example is that the results - at least in retrospect - could have come as no surprise to most if not all of the teachers involved. And yet it seems that nothing had been done before. Why is this? It may have been that no one in the school had hitherto specifically asked the 'right' question, namely: are there any peaks of disruptive incidents amongst 4th-year children? However, the availability of a simple analysis prompted that question and its answer; and the other questions (why? and what can be done about it?) followed on naturally. Another possibility is that those senior staff who had the power to sanction the necessary time-tabling changes had not been aware of the situation beforehand. Or perhaps the incontrovertible facts prompted discussion and action where 'special pleading' by hard pressed teachers had not. It is easy to see, too, how these same facts might in another school have been used in a different fashion. They might have led to a consideration of curriculum relevance or of the effectiveness of punishments or pastoral care. In the original school, the success of this limited exercise may well lead to a similar survey of other year groups.

Perhaps the most important point about this example is, as we have seen, that the survey resulted in the (or a) 'right' question being asked about the behaviour of one group of 4th-year pupils. Once this stage was passed, the experience and resources of the staff were quickly and effectively marshalled to produce a solution. They needed no outside expert to help them. Is it possible, then, that if we can help schools to get the questions right, the answers may not be too difficult for them to find? Strangely, this concept is not one which comes easily to many teachers. Their first reaction is often, "We know what the problems are; we want some solutions", or, "We have plenty of diagnoses; what we need are answers on what to do". However, frequently, their initial perception of the problems, or the diagnoses, is either not explicit or is couched in such general terms that no meaningful answer is possible.

Finally, if we may return to the part-time course, it is not suggested that this is the best way of helping schools nor that the school-based study would necessarily be appropriate in another context. However, it is suggested that promoting some way of achieving a corporate, school-based consideration of the nature and size of the individual school's behaviour problems is a promising avenue to explore. The objective of such a consideration is to heighten awareness in order to achieve a sharper focus, a more rigorous analysis or some reformulation of the problems so that the school may itself produce answers, or agreed strategies, which have a good chance of success.

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LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

Jill Lewis

Plus ça change, plus c'est la meme chose
(Alphonse Karr, 1849)

There have been a number of research projects in Britain in the last few years (see for example Reynolds and Murgatroyd 1977, and Rutter et al. 1979) which like Moses returning from the mountain tell us that schools do make a difference. Such research is welcome, but it would be unwise to believe that these particular tablets have the capacity to cure. The solutions based on an analysis of the behaviour problems, the absenteeism, the truancy, and the academic performance of a school in relation to the characteristics of the community and the children who enter the school, is incomplete.

The school is a highly complex organ, part of the larger organism which is our social structure. The school is a mosaic with complicated patterns of interaction, but unlike a mosaic it is not static, the patterns are continually changing and moving. Rather like an impressionist painting each separate part of the picture has little definition except that which can be found by studying the relationship within the whole. The individual dimensions will not be precise, but the build up of patterns and colour make the final picture one of considerable depth, and unique.

It is my contention that, within that complexity, the single most significant factor and possibly the key determinant of the quality of the school is the leader of that school. In New York, and in Sweden at Linkoping there are already in existence sophisticated programmes which concentrate on developing the role of the school leader. In Britain we pay scant attention to this important factor, even though our present attempts to change schools appear to be failing. Problems continue to proliferate and our schools are not changing, perhaps because as Sarson (1971) suggests "any proposal for change that intends to alter the quality of life in the school depends primarily on the principal".

The concept of leadership does not have much to offer if it is seen simply as a strictly scientific management approach. The acquisition and utilisation of organisational skills (although they are important), and the lack of them can make life more difficult for staff and pupils in the school, does less than justice to the concept of leadership. Leadership should not be confused with efficiency, although it should encompass it. Institutions can be efficient within the terms of the scientific management model, but they can be efficiently pursuing the wrong ends.

Leadership involves the formation of a philosophy for a school which takes into account the needs of the children, the staff, the parents and the wider community. Importantly, leadership depends on the communication of that philosophy and the rationalisation of it into the formation of achievable goals and objectives. The responsibility for this overall direction should lie with the headteacher and he/she should be prepared to be accountable to the school and the community. Furthermore, the leader should have an enabling and a training function- enabling the school to become a more effective learning environment, and functioning as an effective agent for staff development and in-service training. The ultimate aim being to improve the education of children and young people.

It is interesting to dwell for a short time on the historical background within which the personnel of any school functions. If we are to train school leaders what will they inherit from the past which will either support or burden them? Since the latter part of the nineteenth century the education system in this country has been dominated by two ill-defined influences. The first is idealism, the belief that in developing through education the basic reasoning skills, a more humane and productive society would emerge. The second is pragmatism, the necessity of directing education to meet the demands of a developing technological and industrial society.

When universal schooling was imposed on the young of this country in the last decades of the last century, it was vested, with sincere hopes and claims for its potential effectiveness. These were the hallmarks of the idealist and there was fertile ground on which idealism could feed. There was a growing awareness of the problem, and extent of underprivilege and this produced an alarming spectacle. However, the economic, and to some extent political, needs of the state were the slices of bread in which the filling of education were confined. The pragmatic factor always was, and remains today, the prevailing force within which any one seeking to make educational change must operate. After all, the resources which the state invests in education require a return. The state invests huge amounts of its total wealth in education and it is not unreasonable that it should expect a dividend commensurate with that investment.

In historical terms it is not unusual for the pragmatist to dominate the idealist. These two partners make an uneasy marriage and the result has been a continual struggle and considerable confusion. The emergent conflicts appear to be only in the earliest stages of understanding, let alone resolution. It is into this situation that children are thrust yearly, in innocent receipt of the effects of a contest which is an integral part of the society to which they belong. So we are faced with an education system which can be seen as being in an almost continuous circular motion. There is an idealistic higher level purpose, but clashes emerge resulting from the paradoxes, which are an essential part of human affairs. What is needed is positive direction.

With the education system itself subject to the vicissitudes of a society with continuously changing expectations, what of today? Is it

any wonder that children and young people evidence in their attitudes and behaviour considerable dissatisfaction and unrest. The majority lack motivation, and the minority show anger and frustration. What of the teaching profession? Teachers have the same high standards of commitment and concern. Those of us from the universities who feel the need to remain close to the schools are unfailingly impressed with the high standards and hard work found within schools. Teachers are doggedly persistent and frequently ingenious in their capacity to pursue their profession in less than perfect circumstances. However, they are also tired and dispirited. Teachers have been required to produce high academic standards in increasingly sophisticated subject areas, and also to evolve new curricula which they are told would meet the needs of the less able. The less able are voting with their feet, and giving credence to the description of this type of curriculum as courses in 'underwater knitting'.

At the same time, attitudes to discipline and control within the school have had to be reassessed. Both children and their parents appear willing to tolerate less of the old fashioned authoritarian approach. Parents are no longer willing to be kept awe-struck at the school gates. In primary and comprehensive schools children can, and do, expect their parents support when conflicts occur. Figures for school absence are swollen by the number of condoned absences, when parents provide a fictitious excuse for staying away. How much do our schools involve the wider community? Certainly there are the usual representatives on the governing bodies, and schools are widely used for evening activities, yet schools do not actively canvass the views of their local community and involve them in the decision making process. On a recent visit to the United States, it was interesting to listen to the involvement of the local community in the appointment of the Principal of the local high school. This was communicated by the local radio station on regular news programmes which gave a blow by blow account of the appointment. The committee which vetted the applications and made the final appointment comprised pupils, parents, teachers, school board representatives and administrators. Details of the salary were given and the final candidates interviewed. In Britain such a process would be unthinkable, and how many of our headteachers would be willing to be interviewed by pupil representatives?

Any orchestra needs a conductor, someone who can harmonise the variety of talents provided by individuals and groups of instrumentalists. The conductor has the task of giving direction and cohesion and it is my argument that the person who must give this leadership in education is the headteacher.

THE THREE PROGRAMMES

There are three programmes which will be described here, two of them deal directly with school leadership and the third works with school leaders but has a narrow focus.

1) A programme for the development of the principal as an educational leader in America.

2) A school leader education programme in Sweden

3) A part-time course for senior management in comprehensive schools in South East Wales, centred at Cardiff.

The first two have very obvious similarities in their aims and objectives, however all three work with senior management in the schools.

1) The American Programme
Objectives

The goal of the American Programme is firstly, to enable the participants to define their role as education school leaders, and to explore differing leadership styles. Secondly, it is designed to help individuals to operate within their defined roles in a manner best suited to their particular style of leadership. A third aim is to explore the concept of the educational school leader as a humanistic change agent.

There are eleven training objectives (Klopf et al., 1975) which further expand on the main objectives. These explore the definition of role, an assessment of the individual school including staff competencies and staff development process and a greater understanding of the learning and growth of children, including assessment procedures. Finally there is an element which focusses on management process and on effective cooperation with parents and the wider community.

The Programme

In the original pilot programme, begun in 1972, there were twelve volunteer school principals from New York City elementary schools. They represented a variety of different school environments, and they were chosen for their openness to new ideas and growth potential.

This programme is ongoing and has, since 1972 been extended into High Schools.

a) An analysis of each schools situation is done cooperatively with staff teaching on the programme and with participating peers.

b) Identification of the schools problems leads to formulation of school and leadership objectives for one year at a time.

c) Participant competencies are rated by programme staff who observe in schools, and by participating peers.

d) The function of the school leader as a staff developer and trainer has an important emphasis.

e) The programme is evaluated on a yearly basis and this leads to planning for the following year.

2) The Swedish Programme
Objectives

There are two main and interconnected objectives. The first is to make changes at a local level and institute developments in each school

represented. This is aimed at obtaining a better balance between education for achievement and education for co-existence (School Leader Education, 1977). The second objective is to develop the function of the school leader, within which it is also expected that the personality of the individual will grow through their participation in the programme.

The Programme

The programme has three separate components:-

a) The Course Period. This takes up twenty-five days over two years in concentrated blocks of two to four days. These are called course summation periods, and they aim at enabling the participants to acquire a deeper understanding of the working process of their own school and of their role as the leader of that school. During these periods the group as a whole comprises no more than thirty participants and this is broken down into smaller analytical groups of five or six. Each of the smaller groups consciously contains people with a variety of experience.

b) The Home Period. During the Home Period the main thrust of the work is observation and analysis of the working process of the school. There is no aspect of school life that does not come under scrutiny at this point. In consultation with the staff at Linkoping the individual participants prepare assignments for the home periods during the course period. They also work cooperatively with other school leaders in their area. Study circles are conducted involving school leaders, district administrators and local politicians. The subjects for discussion are chosen by the circle in each locality.

c) The Society Oriented Period. In 1976 the Swedish Parliament decided that school leaders should receive some practical, society orientated, experience. This is built into the school leadership scheme and comprises two two-week periods. The first requires the participants to work in an industry typical of their local area. This aims at helping them to acquire a working knowledge of the conditions under which parents work, and which the young people will meet when they leave school.

The second two week period involves working with a branch of the local child and youth welfare services. This is expected to facilitate later cooperation between all the agencies in the locality working with children. Team-work is the operative word.

3) The Cardiff Programme

Objectives

To bring together senior management from comprehensive schools who will focus on behaviour problems and learning difficulties in their schools. The individual is nominated by the school and filters through the Local Authority advisory staff to the programme staff. The school is contracted to embark on staff development and in-service programmes.

The Programme

a) There is an academic and theoretical input from programme staff, education theorists and practitioners country-wide.

b) Large and small group analysis of current problems of behaviour and learning in schools is the main focus.

c) Specific analysis of school problems is undertaken in three school based studies. Each participating school has three pieces of objective study of their strengths and problem areas, this is provided by three members of the course. These are expected to be rigorous in the quantification of data and objective analysis.

d) Staff development and in-service training activities are expected to develop from an analysis of the school situations, and consultation with headteachers and colleagues.

e) A cooperative network is established between all agencies working for children in the area. This will include advisory staff, school psychologists, school social workers, and area welfare officers. The university is seen as a facilitator for this cooperation and hopes to emphasise its role as a continuing resource to the schools and other services.

Some Comparisons

All three programmes concentrate on an analysis of the problems in the individual schools represented on the courses. Only the Cardiff scheme has a specific focus, which is on behaviour and learning problems. However, the first year of this programme has shown that the focus cannot be too narrowly defined. In all three schemes the participants have autonomy over the selection of what will be included in their studies. In Sweden and America the studies are conducted with continual consultation between the programme staff and course members. In Cardiff the discussions are mainly concerned with the formulation of working guidelines. In this programme the interesting features for the future will be the studies which will result from school exchanges. Already it is clear that participants will not be able to look at aspects of a strange school in any great depth and most participants are concentrating on one or two factors. These seem likely to include the communication of decisions with the school, registration procedures, careers advice or pupil perception of subject options.

The Swedish scheme has the very interesting society orientated aspect. Neither of the other schemes enables participants to work in a local industry nor to work alongside supportive agencies. In Cardiff there is, however, cooperation and involvement of some of these services built into the course, but no field work is involved. Certainly no discussions or study circles with local politicians is built in to any, other than the Swedish programme.

The American programme places a much firmer emphasis on an analysis of the individual participants. An awareness of self, attitudes, values,

aims and competencies is seen as the first, and very important, step. The rationale for this knowledge of 'where one is coming from' personally and professionally, is that understanding of self will be reflected in the performance of ones role as an educational leader. The individual is encouraged to drop his/her protective shield, as indeed he/she will need to encourage their colleagues to drop theirs, in order to become more open to new ideas and to change.

Some Implications

Quite obviously three of the most advanced nations in the western world share a concern with the problems in their schools. There could be a very valuable exchange of perspective - we all have much to learn from the composition of the courses and the evaluation of their effectiveness. It would be useful to exchange programme staff and course participants. Well prepared site visits come high on the list of effective strategies for change in the American evaluation - they would certainly be potentially productive in an exchange of school leaders cross-culturally. The Americans who have more experience in this field, have recorded that one of the most influential features in isolating the key role of the school leader was a visit to British schools in 1971.

However, there is one very important factor when we consider future developments and research in this country. It would be useful to test the hypothesis that the role of the school leader is a key determinant in the quality of the school. So much of the individual styles of leadership appears to be personality based, and there are differing leadership styles. Yet in this country we give little or no support to the new headteacher as he/she takes up his/her post. Our selection procedure is based on applications which indicate age, qualifications, and experience, and decisions are made through the usual interview. The emphasis is on what the individual 'would do' rather than on the 'doing'. Some opportunity for these influential individuals, with a vital role to play in the education of our young, to concentrate on the potential that is inherent in their role must be productive. An opportunity for them to distance themselves from the 'situation specific' and to work cooperatively with their peers in problem-solving must enrich their experience and their expertise. Surely this is a productive way forward for the future.

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